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Publication Number Twenty

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1914

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Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 7-8, 1914

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Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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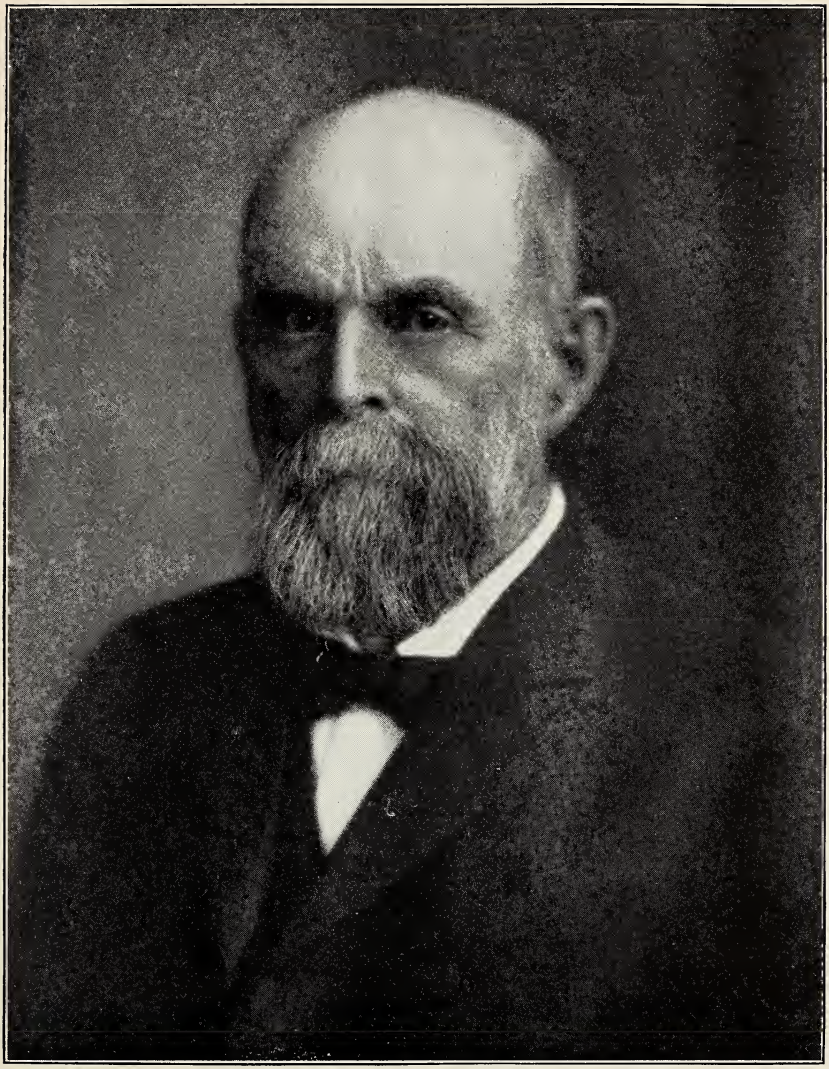

CAPT. J. H. BURNHAM.

One of the Founders of the Illinois State Historical Society and a Director of the Society since its Organization in 1899.

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# OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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COL. CLARK E. CARR.....Galesburg

*President.*

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

*First Vice-President.*

W. T. NORTON.....Alton

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J. O. CUNNINGHAM.....Urbana
GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Illinois Normal University...Carbondale
WILLIAM A. MEESE.....Moline
RICHARD V. CARPENTER.....Belvidere
EDWARD C. PAGE, Northern Illinois State Normal School.....DeKalb
J. W. CLINTON.....Polo
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield

*Secretary-Treasurer.*

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

## EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the co-operation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such co-operation and mutual undertaking that this society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

# CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

## ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which board the president of the society shall be ex officio a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a president and as many vice-presidents, not less than three, as the society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this society has beeen formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this constitution for the management of the affairs of the society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The president shall preside at all meetings of the society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the vice-presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the society may choose a president pro tempore.

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the society or the board of directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the society at its annual meeting.

## ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this society shall consist of five classes, to wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding, and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archæological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as affiliated member of this society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as

active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly credited representative at each meeting of the society, who shall, during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the society upon the recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the society.

## ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board of directors to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the boards of directors may be called by the president or any two members of the board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

## ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the secretary to all the members of the society.

## AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

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### OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

*(Members please read this circular letter.)*

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the west; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to the great rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire

### EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the late rebellion; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village, and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State legislatures; earlier Governor's messages and reports of State officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins; medals; paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc.; sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also, stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the library and society, and will be carefully preserved in the State house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the librarian and secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PART I

# Record of Official Proceedings

1914

# FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

## Business Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 8, 1914.

The business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order in the Senate Chamber at 10:30 o'clock Friday, May 8, 1914, by the president of the society, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, who stated that no report was necessary for the president, as the secretary of the society would explain the work of the society in her report.

The secretary, Mrs. Weber, then read her report.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the chairman.—You have heard the report of the secretary. What shall be done with it?

Mr. Ensley Moore.—I move that it be accepted and placed on file.

Hon. Richard Yates.—I second the motion.

Chairman.—It has been moved and seconded that the secretary's report be approved and placed on file. Those in favor say aye; opposed, no. Carried.

Chairman.—The next order of business is the presentation of reports. Has Miss Osborne a report on genealogy?

The report was read by the chairman of the committee, Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

Chairman.—What shall be done with Miss Osborne's report?

Mr. H. W. Clendenin.—I move that it be placed on file.

Chairman.—It has been moved and seconded that Miss Osborne's report be placed on file. All in favor vote aye; opposed, no. Carried.

Chairman.—Are there any other officers to report? If not, the next order of business will be the reports of the committees. Mrs. Weber, are there any chairmen of committees who have prepared reports?

Mrs. Weber.—I am the chairman of the program committee. We can submit to you our printed program as the result of our labors.

Chairman.—Mrs. Weber is too modest to speak about the actual program, but we all know from the program of the last meeting, the Gettysburg meeting, and this meeting, that she has been very energetic and arduous in making up these splendid programs. As a matter of fact she deserves the credit for the whole program. If there are no further reports or suggestions contained in the report of the secretary which ought to be acted upon, we shall proceed. There is, however, a recommendation in regard to the Secretary of State for his interest and courtesy to this society. Will somebody present a motion?

Mr. J. Nick Perrin.—I move that the secretary be instructed to convey the thanks of this organization to the gentlemen mentioned in this report.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion that the secretary be asked to convey the thanks of the society to the Secretary of State, Honorable

Harry Woods, and Captain F. J. McComb, for their courtesy and kindness to the society in many ways. It has been moved and seconded. All in favor vote aye; opposed, no. Carried.

Chairman.—I wish to include Professor Crook on account of his taking the place of Professor J. A. James last night, who was prevented from coming on account of illness. Mrs. Weber was not notified until about ten o'clock yesterday morning. It is highly desirable, I think, that Mr. Sidney Breese also receive a special vote of thanks. He gave to the society, manuscripts and documents inherited from his famous grandfather, which would not have been obtainable by purchase or otherwise.

Mrs. Martha K. Baxter.—I move that the society express its thanks to Mr. Breese by a rising vote and that a vote of thanks be sent to him.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion that a rising vote of thanks be given to Mr. Breese for his gift of manuscripts and documents to the society and that a record thereof be made on the records of the society and notice thereof sent to Mr. Breese. Will the members of the society arise?

(Rising vote taken.)

Chairman.—I think everything has been acted upon in your report, Mrs. Weber?

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.—I suppose it is not necessary, but I would like some recommendation on the request of the Centennial Commission that we cooperate with them—an acknowledgment of their message, at least.

Hon. Richard Yates.—You do not make any definite recommendation in your report except that we cooperate.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.—Governor, I simply report without recommendations on those points that I have been asked to report to this society that the Centennial Commission will be glad of its cooperation. I thought to acknowledge the message in some way.

Mr. J. W. Clinton.—The board of directors, I believe, recommended certain parties for honorary membership. Has that been acted upon?

Chairman.—Another motion is before the house. That the society acknowledge the recommendation from the Centennial Commission that we cooperate with it in its preparation for the centennial year, made by Governor Yates. Seconded and carried.

Mr. J. W. Clinton.—The point I raised—I was not in here at the commencement of the meeting. I do not know whether the list of members recommended for honorary membership had been presented. It was presented in the directors' meeting. I raise that question. If it has not been read, I suggest that it be read and acted upon.

Chairman.—No motion has been entertained in regard to that. Will you make the motion, Mr. Clinton?

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.—I have the list here.

Mr. J. W. Clinton.—The list recommended and endorsed by the directory—recommended by the secretary and endorsed by the membership of the committee—includes Governor Edward F. Dunne, Dr. William Jayne, Judge J. O. Cunningham, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Dr. M. H. Chamberlain, Hon. Clinton L. Conkling and Sidney S. Breese. I move that this society make them honorary members.

Mr. H. W. Clendenin.—I second the motion.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion made and seconded that Governor Edward F. Dunne, Dr. William Jayne, Judge J. O. Cunningham, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Dr. M. H. Chamberlain, Hon. Clinton L. Conkling and Sidney S. Breese be made honorary members of this society. Those in favor of welcoming these gentlemen to honorary membership in this society vote aye; opposed, vote no. Carried. The secretary will please cast the ballot of the society for the election.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.—Mr. Chairman, I have cast the ballot.

Chairman.—The gentlemen are elected.

Captain J. H. Burnham.—The secretary made mention of the fact that next year will be the fiftieth anniversary of peace and in the directors' meeting we had some talk on that matter but nothing special concluded upon. I will make a motion in behalf of this society. I move that the society appoint a committee of three who shall be representatives to the meeting of the State Encampment of the G. A. R. at their forthcoming meeting on the 3d and 4th of June, giving welcome of this society to the G. A. R., if they choose to cooperate with this society in that celebration.

Motion seconded.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion of Captain Burnham that this society extend an invitation to the G. A. R. to cooperate with us in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of peace——

Captain J. H. Burnham.—I do not know whether to put it in that way. I thought it better to say we would welcome cooperation.

Chairman.—That notice be given to the G. A. R. that this society will welcome any cooperation in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary. That a committee of three be appointed. Those in favor, please say aye. Carried.

Chairman.—Who shall appoint the committee, Captain Burnham?

Captain J. H. Burnham.—The chair.

Chairman.—I appoint Captain Burnham——

Mr. H. W. Clendenin.—I would request that I be not of that committee. My eyesight is very bad. I would probably not be able to go. Comrade Jenkins and Comrade Silliman may have no trouble with their eyes.

Chairman.—The chair has appointed for this committee, Captain Burnham, Mr. Silliman, and Mr. Jenkins. Is there further miscellaneous business to come before the society?

Mrs. I. G. Miller.—In Mrs. Weber's report she spoke of a letter she received from Moro, Illinois. I believe we ought to send greetings to this lady. She appreciated the works sent to her. I make this motion.

Mrs. Martha K. Baxter.—Seconded.

Carried.

Chairman.—It is a very gracious motion and stimulates interest, I think, in the society. Is there any further miscellaneous business? I may possibly make a few remarks in regard to the centennial publication committee of the Centennial Commission. The subcommittee has been at work almost a year now in making preparations for the centennial publication which is to appear in 1918. After discussion of the matter

from every standpoint and viewpoint, the consent of the Governor was obtained to proceed on the following plan: that as soon as possible—say within a year or two—a small volume of two or three hundred pages, "Illinois in 1818," be issued. "The People, Civilization, etc., of the People of Illinois in 1818." This is to be a work drawing the attention of the people to the centennial. The large work on the anniversary of Illinois will comprise five volumes and will be edited by the best people obtainable in the State and undoubtedly will form a much desired work on this State. There is no work at present extant on the history of Illinois that is standard. The subcommittee and the commission so hope that this will be so.

At the annual meetings we often have reports from the officers of the local societies. Will Mr. Freese please report on the work of his society?

Mr. L. J. Freese.—Mr. Chairman, I have no special report to make to this body. However, we are endeavoring to do the work that belongs, as I understand it, to the local historical society. We are collecting the history of our county and we are placing this in permanent form. We are—I should say we are hoping to. It is now in manuscript form. When our society becomes wealthy we shall put it in book form. Sometimes we go before our board of supervisors and secure an appropriation, but the society is growing in interest and we are holding our meetings in different parts of the county. Last September, I went to Minonk to place the matter of holding our next meeting at Minonk. I visited the business men's association, which resulted in the meeting of such men in the First National Bank and they extended an invitation to our society to meet there. We had an excellent program and exhibited the relics. A few days ago, I went to El Paso to visit our people there to see if they would care for the mid-year meeting, and the commercial club has extended us an invitation for the meeting at that place. They are going to furnish the programs, etc. The meetings are growing in interest; and we cannot confine them to one section or one day; so we will have an evening meeting and a meeting the next day for the exhibition of the relics; and the afternoon meeting will be given over to the D. A. R. Our society has endeavored to locate the graves—we have located two or three Revolutionary soldiers, 1812, 1832, and the Mexican War. The Peoria Daughters of the American Revolution will mark the graves of soldiers at this meeting. The commercial club will see that automobiles convey the members to the scene.

We celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the formation of the county; marked where Lincoln and Douglas made speeches. We expect to continue this work and especially invite you to attend this meeting of June 3-4 at El Paso.

Mr. Ensley Moore.—Speaking about marking places—last Decoration Day—I don't know whether you noticed or not—but we marked the camping place of General Grant and the marking was done in an official way by a gathering and speaking, etc. The story of the marking was one that in a way was a double marker. Some of the natives found a couple of boulders, and those had belonged probable to the Collins brothers, who established the second flour mill at Naples. Those two

stones were used as markers of the place where Mr. Grant's regiment encamped. It was a double monument.

It is not for Mrs. Miller or Mrs. Weber to take this matter up. I want to say a thing to the men folks. That is, I think there is a class that has not been very largely referred to in our meetings, and that is the women of Illinois. If nothing happens to me I expect to write something and have it printed regarding three ladies of Jacksonville and they are the three ladies that have done much for Jacksonville and much for the State. I want to write that up sometime when I can get to it, and I suggest that the younger members like Professor Greene take an interest and find out about the women of Illinois. If you will turn over the pages of history that you know about, you will find that there would not be many of us here if it were not for the women of Illinois; and I think it is fair that you remember them, and I want them remembered in the annals of the Historical Society, and I want the other members to take hold of that point.

Chairman.—Some time ago I read a valuable article about the value of museums of history by which an interest in history can be aroused, by Professor Page, of DeKalb. I would like to call on him to make a few remarks.

Professor E. C. Page.—We have no historical society in DeKalb county, though the county is much interested in history and is doing a great deal in the way of promoting and stimulating interest. We are very much taken up with the new farm ideas; and an angle of that is the farmers' room, in which they use all sorts of implements, special harvest machinery, going back to the days of the reaping hook down to the present machinery; and other things connected with farm life and pioneer life are usually exhibited at that time—marking graves, and at present they are making plans to mark the site of the first courthouse in the county. Along these lines a great deal of interest is being taken, although no historical society has been organized.

In the Normal School we have taken the same idea of prompting historical interest and are endeavoring to interest our students in making use of historical material in their school work; and so, in the last two years, I began collecting a museum of history, what I call a working museum of history. President John W. Cook has been very kind in the setting aside of rooms for the collection. Outside these rooms is a spacious corridor. Through the kindness of our friends we have collected quite a museum in the last two years. I suppose we must have 4,000 or 5,000 different articles showing the life of the past and all of them have been contributed. We have purchased nothing. We do not enter the field of purchase. If we did our purpose would be entirely defeated. We would be constantly besought to buy. We have everything from a wood hook to a Marsh Harvester. The latter we are not able to house with our collection, but we have it for exhibition purposes. This is nothing, because there should be a collection of historical material. But the use we are making of it is unusual. There are only a few schools that are making use of a historical museum. We are trying in every way to make the utmost possible use of it. The greatest use is in the grades and Normal school. Teachers going and coming and they make use of it just as books are taken from the library so that the

children can understand better the life of the past. That material is out all the time. Every morning one of my first duties is to check up; and only one morning in the past year have I found everything in the museum; something out all the time. Then we have special exhibits in the corridor in suitable cases and every device by which we can exhibit this matter. In view of the present Mexican embroglio, I thought it proper to have a war exhibit; and I found from the museum that I have exhibits from the Mexican War, War of 1812, Revolutionary War, Civil War and Spanish-American War and from distant countries; and the thing that surprised me, although I have collected all this material, was the number of articles that illustrated the various wars and the variety of them. I discovered we had a complete file of the daily papers during the Spanish-American War; I have the music that was used during the Revolutionary War, the score of the tune to which Cornwallis surrendered, "The World's Turned Upside Down," secured from the Library of Congress; the music from the Civil War and Spanish-American War; one composed by Bert Morgan, "My Sweetheart Went Down with the Maine." What is the object of this? Putting them in special exhibits. So that everybody in school going to and fro will see the different phases of history illustrated. It is attracting a great deal of attention, and profitable attention, not only in the school but in the community. People as a matter of fact are coming from outside communities to see these things. I am glad of the opportunity to call attention to this undertaking. I think I know the museums of the schools in this country. Outside of three or four universities, probably that exhibit could not be duplicated in any other school. It is there for use. It seems to me that that is the object of things. We ought to preserve these things and get them before the people who ought to see those things.

Mr. L. J. Freese.—I move that this society express its thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Walker of the D. A. R. for the work she is doing in locating the graves of the soldiers of the American Revolution in Illinois. Motion seconded.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion made and seconded. Those in favor say aye. Carried.

Chairman.—The next order of business is the election of officers.

Mr. J. Nick Perrin.—This old life is short at its longest and I begin to believe in economizing it. I do not see any evidence of any job being put up on any of us. I would, therefore, move that the secretary cast the ballot of this society for all of the present officers, including the honorary president, Col. Clark E. Carr, with the exception of the secretary and that the president of the society cast the vote of this society for Mrs. Weber as secretary.

Chairman.—You have heard the motion. It has been moved and seconded that the present officers be reelected for the coming year and that the secretary of the society cast the ballot of the society for the election of these officers with the exception of herself and that the president cast the ballot for the secretary.

Mr. Richard Yates.—Most of the officers being officers cannot vote——

Mr. J. Nick Perrin.—I can vote on those members. I am not an officer.

Chairman.—Those in favor say aye. Carried.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.—I have the list of the officers here and by the direction of the society I cast the ballot for all officers except the secretary.

Chairman.—I herewith cast the ballot of the society for the re-election of our very worthy and excellent secretary.

Mr. J. Nick Perrin.—Would you allow me just one minute—possibly two—on the matter—although it was passed—on the matter of the local historical societies or museums. We have a modest people who feel that St. Clair County has played a very humble part in the affairs of the society; and in St. Clair County we have both a museum, a historical museum and a historical society. The historical museum is in the courthouse and the historical society is up here attending this meeting. St. Clair County, of course, embraced all of the State of Illinois except about one-sixteenth of the extreme southeast portion, plus all of the state of Wisconsin. Our museum is a record room. We call it an old record room. It contains old civil records west of the Allegheny Mountains—a French record, etc., in France dating back to 1737. This museum contains records from 1737 to 1800. And the historical society was organized for the purpose of not only forwarding this movement but of allowing the school children to pass through this room every day, but also, for the purpose of taking care of and standing guard over these historic records and these official papers that are in its care and to see that they are not hawked about the State by anybody. There are twenty-seven of us. We do not want any more. We cannot do business with too many. Twenty-seven are enough. In addition to looking after the museum and meeting often enough to reelect ourselves—the meeting being subject to the call of the president—in addition to this, whenever anything of enough importance occurs we mark it. When the son of the distinguished novelist came to St. Clair County, seventy years after his father's visit, we took him in tow. We showed him a good time, although we hope we did not feed him too much. We showed him the places his father visited seventy years prior to that time, and then we put a nice brass marker on the mansion house and sent him back. We then marked when St. Clair County attained its centennial time, when the county seat attains its centennial; we marked the place where the first cabin stood, the cabin of the pioneer who started the county seat of Illinois; and as soon as the weather opens and we can get down into the old American bottom, we expect to mark the place which witnessed the assassination of the biggest red man of them all, Pontiac. We killed him at Cahokia. By the way, that was the earliest settlement. We built the first railroad, etc.

Captain J. H. Burnham.—I hope our friend is not pluming himself on having the oldest settlement because Kaskaskia has departed.

Mr. J. Nick Perrin.—No, Kaskaskia commenced up here——

Mr. Richard Yates.—That first railroad of yours was a horse car railroad. In Morgan County we built a real one.

Chairman.—If there is no further regular business we will proceed——

Mr. Richard Yates.—I want to introduce one of the men who built the first railroad. (Presents Mr. William Baker.)

Chairman.—On account of the lateness of the hour I shall change the program and instead of asking for the paper on the Williamson County Vendetta, which I understand is a long one, I shall take the liberty of asking Mr. Jenkins to read his paper on the Thirty-ninth Illinois Volunteers, The Yates Phalanx.

Captain J. H. Burnham.—Judge Young of Marion, who wrote the Williamson County Vendetta, is one of the original signers of the call for the organization of the State Historical Society. He has taken a great interest in State and local history and wrote the paper about the Williamson County Vendetta at my request when I met him at the State encampment at Alton. He has never been able to attend our meetings but has a warm interest in our work.

Mr. Jenkins reads his paper.

Chairman.—On account of the postponement of Judge Young's paper to this afternoon and that there are three other papers scheduled for that time, it will be necessary for us to meet promptly at 2:30.

The meeting is adjourned until 2:30 this afternoon.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY— MAY, 1913-MAY, 1914.

*May 7, 1914.*

*To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.*

GENTLEMEN: The Illinois State Historical Society is now fifteen years old, this being its fifteenth annual meeting. The society was organized June 30, 1899, as the result of the preliminary meeting held at the University of Illinois May 19, 1899. The first annual meeting was held at Peoria the following January (January 5-6, 1900), the second annual meeting was held at Springfield, January 30-31, 1901. At this meeting the secretary reported that there were about sixty members.

An able address was delivered before the society by Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary and director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in which he stated that that day (January 30, 1901) was the fifty-second birthday of the Wisconsin Historical Society. In the report of the secretary at the sixth annual meeting held in Springfield, January 25-26, 1905, two hundred and fifty-one members were reported. This included twenty-eight editorial or newspaper members.

At the tenth annual meeting eight hundred members were reported and today the society numbers:

| | |
|---|---|
| Honorary members | 17 |
| Life members | 12 |
| Active | 1,583 |
| Newspaper editors | 47 |
| Total | 1,659 |

It is the largest state society in the United States in point of numbers.

We have lost by death since our last annual meeting sixteen of our members. They are:

Mr. H. L. Sayler, Chicago, Illinois, May 31, 1913.

Miss M. Frances Chenery, Springfield, Illinois, June 7, 1913.

Mr. Albert Atherton, Pleasant Plains, Illinois, June 11, 1913.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin, October 22, 1913 (an honorary member).

Mrs. Katherine Goss Wheeler, Springfield, Illinois, November 19, 1913.

Mr. C. S. N. Hallberg, Chicago, Illinois, November 5, 1913.

Mr. Thornton G. Capps, Greenfield, Illinois, December 11, 1913.

Mr. Louis Waltersdorf, Chicago, Illinois, December 12, 1913.

Mr. John H. Drawyer, Bradford, Illinois, 1913.

Mr. J. M. Ryrie, Alton, Illinois, 1914.

Professor Henry B. Henkel, Springfield, Illinois, February 26, 1914.

Hon. Shelby M. Cullom, January 28, 1914 (an honorary member of the society).

Mr. Edgar S. Scott, Springfield, Illinois, March 22, 1914.

Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Illinois, April 1, 1914.

Mr. W. H. Thacker, Arlington, Washington, April 1, 1914.

Brief biographies of these members have appeared in the *Journal* and I will not at this time repeat them. An address on the life of Senator Shelby M. Cullom will be a part of the proceedings of this annual meeting.

I again desire to call your attention to the oft repeated requests of the secretary to be informed in the case of deaths in our membership. You are urgently requested to notify the secretary if you learn of the death of a member of this society.

Members express their interest in the society and their pleasure in its publications by many kind letters. I beg to read a brief one from one of our members and I hope the society will see fit to send a word of greeting to the writer of the letter.

*"Moro, Illinois, May 4, 1914.*

My Dear Mrs. Weber: I am enclosing the $1.00 for dues in the Historical Society and would be delighted to attend the meeting in Springfield and hear the interesting topics discussed so ably, as I am sure they will be, but alas! I am a hopeless shut-in, not likely to enjoy attending anything beyond the walls of my room. But with all my limitations I find life worth living because of the many love feasts I can have in print and script. My mind can travel, yea even wander, in the realms of reason and I can have beautiful thoughts all of the time. In all good societies I can *belong* even if I can't *throng.*

May the Illinois Historical Society live long and prosper!

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) Katharine Stahl."

On November 19, 1913, this society held a memorial meeting in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, at which time Mr. Lincoln delivered his celebrated Gettysburg address. Governor Dunne by special proclamation called the attention of the people of the State to this historic anniversary and asked them to observe it. The Historical Society gladly acted upon the patriotic suggestion of our Governor and on the evening of November 19, 1913, the meeting was held. It was an occasion that will long be remembered by those who attended it.

Governor Dunne, after being introduced by Dr. O. L. Schmidt, president of the society, presided over the meeting and addresses were made by Judge J. O. Cunningham, a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln; State Superintendent of Public Instruction F. G. Blair, and Hon. Everett Jennings. These were noteworthy addresses. Stephenson Post, G. A. R., attended in a body and the soldiers who had been participants at the Battle of Gettysburg were asked to come to the speaker's stand and there an eloquent address was made to them, especially by Hon. Everett Jennings. The meeting was successful in every detail.

Since the last meeting of this society the commission created by the last General Assembly to arrange for the celebration of the State's centennial anniversary has been organized.

The president and secretary of the State Historical Society are members of the Centennial Commission, as are Senator Hearn, Senator Hay, Senator Johnson, President James, Professor Greene, Professor Garner, all members of the Historical Society.

The commission met and organized by making Senator Hearn chairman, and Jessie Palmer Weber secretary of the commission. Committees have been appointed and work has been laid out for them. The plan contemplates a significant celebration of the centennial year by a great historical publication; celebrations in every community in the State by schools, clubs, fraternal organizations, historical societies and a great celebration at Springfield; and it is hoped that there will be, as an enduring memorial by the State to its hundred years of progress, a Centennial Memorial Building, the dedication of which will be a part of the centennial celebration. Senator Logan Hay is the chairman for the Centennial Memorial Building; Dr. Schmidt for the Centennial Memorial Publications; President James of the celebration at Springfield; Senator Kent E. Keller of the State Wide Celebration; Professor Greene on Monuments and Memorials; Jessie Palmer Weber on the Historical Pageant. There are other important committees, but the above mentioned are of special interest to the Historical Society.

The members of the Historical Society are expected to bear an important part in this great work and the Centennial Commission asks your aid and cooperation.

Your secretary attended the State Conference of Daughters of the American Revolution at Quincy last October and made a report of the working of the Fort Massac Park Trustees. A member of this society, Mrs. E. S. Walker, made at that same conference an admirable report, as State chairman of the Illinois D. A. R. committee on historic research. You are all familiar with the splendid work that Mrs. Walker is doing in compiling the names and records of military services and the places of burial of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois. Mrs. Walker is doing this work by counties of Illinois. She is carefully verifying these. I suggest that the society express in some manner its appreciation of her labors.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne, chairman of the genealogical committee, will report to you that the list which she has compiled of the Historical Library's various works on genealogy, is nearly ready for distribution. She will not, however, tell you of how much labor she has bestowed upon it and how valuable it will be to genealogists and genealogical students.

The secretary of the society has been asked by Mr. Scott Matthews, pure food commissioner of this State, to assist him in the preparation of a text-book for schools. This book is to contain historical information in regard to pure food legislation, and of the resources and history of the State. It is planned to have it in the hands of the school children of the State by the opening of the school year in the autumn.

The secretary has also been invited by the Illinois Commission to the Panama-Pacific Exposition to place an exhibit in the Lincoln memorial room in the Illinois Building at San Francisco at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. This, it is hoped, will be a truly significant exhibit. The secretary begs the assistance of the society in the collection of Lincoln material that will be worthy of the State of Illinois. The

Panama-Pacific Exposition Commission, of which the Governor is a commissioner, with twenty deputy or associate commissioners is building for Illinois a splendid building; and the members of the commission desire that the people of this State who visit the Exposition will avail themselves of the comforts and conveniences of the Illinois Building as a resting place and meeting place; and the commission hopes that it will be the headquarters of Illinoisans at the Exposition.

The secretary and several other members of the society attended the ceremonies at Starved Rock, attendant upon the presentation to the State of Illinois on September 6, 1913, by the D. A. R. of the State, of a splendid flag-pole and D. A. R. pennant. This was a notable gathering. Addresses were made by the State regent of the D. A. R., Mrs. George A. Lawrence; Mrs. Matthew T. Scott, Mrs. John C. Ames, vice-president general for Illinois of the D. A. R.; Hon. Samuel Alschuler, Hon. Charles Clyne and Mr. W. R. Osman, all of whom are members of the Historical Society. Other persons distinguished in historical and patriotic work made addresses. I mention those who are members of the society to show you the part taken by our members in the historical work in this State.

The secretary visited the Rock Island County Historical Society on April 14, 1914, and had the pleasure of addressing the society. The Rock Island County Society which has such an interesting history to report has in its membership some of the best workers of the State Historical Society. The meeting was an interesting and successful one and your secretary derived much pleasure from her visit.

Next year is the fiftieth anniversary of the termination of the great Civil War of America. It seems to me that if there is any historical event which should be commemorated by jubilee, it is this anniversary of the cessation of the hostilities between our own people. Four years ago we observed the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of that great war. This was a solemn memorial observance, but fifty years of peace and progress should be observed in a different way. If it were not for the fact that the old soldiers who remain with us today are growing feeble and are few in number, it would be indeed, an anniversary of rejoicing; but it gives us an opportunity of doing special honor to the veterans who remain with us, and of showing them that their bravery and sacrifices are not forgotten by us who are heirs of the prosperity which they made possible. I suggest that the meeting of 1915 especially observe this semicentennial.

Circular letters have been issued from time to time by the library and society asking the assistance of members of the Historical Society and of the citizens of this State in the collection of historical material of all kinds. I again make an appeal for such material.

Mr. Sidney S. Breese of Springfield, grandson of Judge Sidney Breese, distinguished in the annals of this State, has presented the library with a large number of the letters and papers of his grandfather. These comprise letters to Judge Breese from most of his eminent contemporaries. Among them are letters from Stephen A. Douglas, James Semple, Gustavus Koerner, William H. Bissell, John Wentworth and many others. The collection is most valuable and it is a splendid and

generous gift. Lists of gifts and names of donors are acknowledged in the *Journal.* Your assistance is earnestly solicited.

This society has passed the experimental stage and it has a great work to do. It is too much to expect that each one of the members of the society be an active worker, but it is not too much to expect each one to be interested enough to help by suggestion and interest.

It will be remembered that an appropriation for the purchase of the site of old Fort Chartres was made by the last session (Forty-eighth) of the General Assembly. The land has been purchased by the State and this truly historic relic is now a part of the State park system. Mr. William A. Meese, one of the directors of this society, was largely instrumental in securing this appropriation. Residents of the county and locality have formed an association for the purpose of stimulating interest in and preserving local history. Surely the locality which this society represents has a history which is as fascinating and thrilling as any pictured by writers of romance. We welcome this new society to the field of State historical work.

The research work grows rapidly and all of the employees of the library and the society are kept busy. The publications, the *Journal* and the *Transactions,* and indexing them, the cataloging and copying are all arduous labor. You have received copies of Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. IX, a bibliography of Travel and Description in Illinois, 1765-1865, by Dr. Solon J. Buck.

This is an excellent exhaustive piece of work, altho the casual student can form no idea of the amount of work, of laborious painstaking research which Dr. Buck devoted to the compilation of it. Dr. Buck has also been secured by the Centennial Commission to edit its first publication, "Illinois in 1818." The fact that he is to have supervision of this work insures its character and high value.

The work of the society and library progresses steadily. Membership in the society continues to grow, but the members of the society do not personally attend the meetings as they should do. This gentle scolding applies particularly to Springfield members. I know that members are interested, but so many things come up these busy days that one cannot do everything, and then you receive the papers in the *Transactions of the Society;* so the meetings are neglected. It is not very inspiring to speakers, however, to have such small audiences. Please do some missionary work with the members of the society in regard to this matter.

The committees of the society, too, with notable exceptions, take their duties too lightly. There is, however, good excuse for this, as it is impossible to hold frequent committee meetings, owing to the fact that members reside in all sections of the State. It might be well to arrange committee meetings for the time of the annual meeting of the society; at which time plans for work of committees could be outlined, and subcommittees appointed. Please think this matter over and offer suggestions to the secretary of the society.

As I have said, we are steadily progressing. We meet with disappointments along the way, but does not every one—the farmer, the teacher, the merchant, the housekeeper, workers in all lines of human endeavor—have difficulties with which to contend?

We have every reason for encouragement and none for discouragement. These are some of the activities and some of the problems of the Illinois State Historical Society. But when all is said, the principal difficulty is the fact that we are so crowded in every line of our work that the congestion is getting most uncomfortable and even a semblance of order and tidiness is impossible.

We must have more room. We hope for a new building as a centennial memorial; but even if we secure it, we shall be very crowded during the intervening years. If we have a prospect of better things, we will bear present inconveniences with such patience and fortitude as we can muster. In closing I beg to thank the directors and members of the society for continued kindness and helpfulness to me.

To mention what has been done by Miss Georgia L. Osborne would be telling you the work of my right hand. She is my coworker in everything, and she is never too tired to devote her energies to the service of the society and the library. I also desire to express my appreciation of the highly intelligent and unremitting assistance of my other assistant in the library, Miss Anna C. Flaherty. Permit me also to say that the society owes its thanks to Professor A. R. Crook, president of the State Academy of Sciences, for assistance. The secretary of state, Hon. Harry Woods, is most kind and thoughtful in extending services to the Historical Society, as is Captain F. E. McComb, superintendent of the Capitol Building. I desire to ask the thanks of the society for the three last named gentlemen.

These, I believe, are the principal matters of interest to which I wish to call to your attention.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
*Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.*

Approved May 8, 1914.

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## DIRECTORS' MEETING.

*May 8, 1915.*

The board of directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the office of the secretary of the society, Thursday morning, May 8, at 9:00 o'clock.

There were present: President, Otto L. Schmidt, who presided, and Messrs. Clendenin, Rammelkamp, Russel, Burnham, Clinton, Page, Colyer, and the secretary, Mrs. Weber.

Col. Clark E. Carr, the honorary president of the society, and Hon. Richard Yates came in later.

The report of the secretary was read. On motion of Mr. Russel the report was accepted and approved and it was ordered that it be read to the business meeting of the society. The report of the treasurer was read, accepted, approved and ordered placed on file.

It was voted that the present committees of the society be continued.

Dr. Rammelkamp called the attention of the directors to the fact that the annual meeting of the American Historical Association was to be held in Chicago during the Christmas holidays. It was voted that the president and the secretary draft a resolution to the American

Historical Association on the occasion of its holding its meeting in our State. Captain Burnham spoke of the fact that next year, 1915, is the fiftieth anniversary of the close of the war between the states.

It was moved that the attention of the program committee be called to this historic fact. Captain Burnham spoke of the committees of the society and said he would like to devise a plan to secure greater activity in their work.

Governor Yates inquired as to the progress of plans for a new building for the society. Dr. Schmidt explained what had been done toward that object and plans for future work. Captain Burnham spoke of the propriety of securing the cooperation of the State G. A. R. in plans for celebrating the anniversary of the close of the war.

He said he would try to secure this cooperation. Governor Yates suggested that the matter be brought before the society, and it was decided that this be done.

There being no further business presented, the meeting of the board of directors adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

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## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY AND GENEALOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

*To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:*

Your committee on genealogy and genealogical publications had hoped to report that the list of works on genealogy to be found in the Illinois State Historical Library would soon be ready for distribution. We have this much to report, however, that we are reading proof on the list and that the work will soon be completed. This will be Publication Number 18 of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Mrs. Edwin S. Walker is still continuing her careful work on the compilation of the names of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois. Lists of the soldiers, buried in the following counties: Cass, Clark, Cook, Greene, Iroquois, McLean, Macon, Madison, Marshall, Menard, Morgan, Ogle, Peoria, Sangamon and Warren, have been published in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, beginning with the issue of Volume V, No. 7, April, 1912, and continuing through each succeeding issue, to the April, 1914, Journal (save the January Journal of 1914).

Mrs. Walker asks the cooperation of members of the society in this work, and that as careful and accurate a record as possible be sent, as no name is to appear in the list unless carefully verified.

This department in the library is used by students every day; and we are trying to collect such material as will be of the greatest benefit to these students and to the library, so that we may claim for the department a collection that will rank among the very best in the west.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
*Chairman of the Genealogy and Genealogical Committee, Illinois State Historical Society.*

May 7, 1914.

PART II

# Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1914

## FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

### THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1914, 10:00 O'CLOCK.

SENATE CHAMBER.

Address—"The Methodist Church and Reconstruction," W. W. Sweet, DePaw University, Greencastle, Ind.

Address—"Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River," J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill. Part I—"The Work of the Rivers," J. H. Burnham. Part II—"The Commons of Kaskaskia," H. W. Roberts, Chester.

### THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 O'CLOCK.

Address—"In Black Hawk's Home," John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, Ill.

Address—"Chief Little Turtle," Mrs. Mary Ridpath Mann, Chicago, Ill.

Address—"The Life and Services of Shelby M. Cullom," Henry A. Converse, Springfield, Ill.

### THURSDAY EVENING, 8:00 O'CLOCK.

"Some Effects of Geological History on Present Conditions in Illinois," Prof. A. R. Crook, President State Academy of Sciences, Springfield.

"The Illinois State Park System" (illustrated), J. A. James, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

### FRIDAY MORNING, MAY 8, 1914, 9:00 O'CLOCK.

Director's meeting in the office of the secretary.

### 10:00 O'CLOCK, IN SENATE CHAMBER.

Business meeting of the society.

Reports of officers.
Reports of committees.
Miscellaneous business.
Election of officers.

Address—"The Williamson County Vendetta," Hon. George W. Young, Marion, Ill.

Address—"The Yates Phalanx. The 39th Illinois Volunteers Infantry," W. H. Jenkins, Pontiac, Ill.

## FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

General Topic—An Account of the Great Whig Meeting held at Springfield, June 3-4, 1840. With music of the campaign.

Address—"Representation at the Convention from Northern Illinois," Mrs. Edith P. Kelly, Bloomington, Ill.

Address—"Southern Illinois and Neighboring States at the Convention," Mrs. Martha McNeill Davidson, Greenville, Ill.

Address—"The Young Men's Convention and Old Soldiers' Meeting at Springfield, June 3-4, 1840," Mrs. Isabel Jamison, Springfield, Ill.

## FRIDAY EVENING, 8:00 O'CLOCK.

Quartet—"Illinois."

Annual Address—"Early Courts of Chicago and Cook County," Judge O. N. Carter, Chicago.

Reception in the State library.

# THE EARLY COURTS OF CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY.

(Annual address before the Illinois State Historical Society, May 8, 1914, by Orrin N. Carter, Justice of the Illinois State Supreme Court.)

I have found it somewhat difficult to decide what period of time to cover in this address. At first I considered giving the history of the courts, not only under the Constitution of 1818, but that of 1848, as fairly included within the subject, but decided that this would make too long an address, and therefore have limited it in a general way to the courts under the Constitution of 1818.

No adequate history of the courts of Illinois has ever been written. While short sketches have been given of the courts of the Territory of Illinois, none are found of Chicago or Cook County. No separate history of those courts has ever been undertaken. Brief fragmentary sketches can be found in addresses and scattered through various histories of Chicago. On account of the burning of all the court records in the great fire of 1871 it is practically impossible now to get authentic information as to many historical questions of interest touching the courts, their officials and the cases tried therein. I shall sketch briefly some of the questions upon which information can be obtained.

Most laws creating courts in this country have given them jurisdiction with reference to county lines. In the early history of the State there was some legislation establishing various city courts. Much more frequently there has been legislation of this nature in recent years, owing to the great increase in urban population. When Col. G. R. Clark took possession of Illinois in 1778, under the authority of the Governor of Virginia, the County of Illinois, as a part of Virginia, was formed, including this State and all of the county known as the Northwest Territory, and continuing as such county until 1782. However, until 1784 there was practically no legal authority in Illinois. The people were "a law unto themselves," but apparently conducted their affairs—although informally—with harmony and honesty.[1] The Northwest Territory was created by Congress July 13, 1787, including Illinois. Thereafter in 1790 the counties of Knox and St. Clair were formed, including a part of this State. The territory of the present Cook County was within the limits of Knox County. Indiana Territory was organized May 7, 1800, Knox County continuing as before. February 3, 1801, the boundaries of St. Clair County were changed so as to include Cook County and practically nine-tenths of the entire State. The Territory of Illinois was created February 3, 1809, but St. Clair County—as to the territory now in Cook County—remained unchanged until 1812. In that year on September 14 a new county was formed of which the

[1] Bross' History of Chicago.

southern boundary was the present northern boundary of St. Clair County, and which extended across the State to the east, taking in all the rest of the State to the north and including all north of that to the Canadian line. This new county was called Madison. On November 28, 1814, a change was made in the counties so that all of the eastern half of the State as theretofore existing was included in a new county called Edwards, which had within its boundaries the present Cook County. On December 31, 1816, the northern limits of Edwards County were moved south near to their present location, and all of the territory formerly in Edwards County lying north of its new northern boundary was formed into a new county called Crawford. This was the situation when Illinois was organized as a State. The next change that affected Cook County was made on March 22, 1819, when the northern boundary of Crawford was made coincident with the present northern boundary of Crawford extended west, and all the remaining portion of Crawford County as originally designated (including the present Cook) was included in a new county called Clark. On January 31, 1821, Pike County was created, including within its limits all of Illinois west of the Illinois River and north of the Illinois and Kankakee Rivers. On January 28, 1823, the new county of Fulton was created out of a portion of Pike. The western boundary of Fulton as then created was the present western boundary extended. To the north it took in the southern part of present Knox and the southwest portion of Peoria. The act provided that "all the rest and residue of the attached part of the County of Pike east of the fourth principal meridian shall be attached to and be a part of said County of Fulton until otherwise disposed of by the General Assembly." By this wording Cook County was attached to the new County of Fulton at least for all governmental purposes. On January 3 of the same year, however, the new County of Edgar was created with its present boundary lines. By that act it was provided that all that tract of country north of Edgar County to Lake Michigan be attached to Edgar County. By this last provision that part of Cook County south of a line extended west from the point where the eastern Illinois State line joins the shore line of Lake Michigan was included within Edgar County. January 13, 1825, the County of Peoria was created, with its present county lines. Section 8 of the act creating such county, however, provided, "That all that tract of said country north of said Peoria County, and of the Illinois and Kankakee Rivers, be, and the same is hereby attached to said county, for all county purposes." On the same day another act was passed by the Legislature creating the counties of Schuyler, Adams, Hancock, Warren, Mercer, Henry, Putnam and Knox. The boundary lines of Putnam County included all that territory north and east of Peoria County and north of the Illinois and Kankakee Rivers. Construing together these two acts, it appears that geographically it was intended to place Cook County and all that part of the State north of the Illinois and Kankakee Rivers and east of the western boundary line of Peoria County, extended, within Putnam County but that all this territory should remain under Peoria County for governmental purposes until Putnam County had a sufficient number of inhabitants to authorize a judge of the circuit court to call an election for county officers in said Putnam County. It is sometimes

stated that at least a part of Cook County was at one time within the boundaries of the County of Vermilion and was taxed as of that county.[2] Vermilion County was created by the Legislature January 18, 1826. During the year previous, as already stated, all of the territory north of the Kankakee River, including the present Cook County, had been made a part of Putnam County. We are inclined to think some of the early writers made the mistake of including Cook County as a part of Vermilion, because Vermilion was created out of Edgar, and Edgar, as we have seen, at one time included for governmental purposes that part of Cook County south of a line drawn east and west from the junction point of the Illinois State line with the shore line of Lake Michigan, but as a matter of fact that portion of Cook County became a part of Putnam County before Vermilion County was created. There was no other legislation affecting the territory now within Cook, until the passage of an act of the Legislature January 15, 1831, whereby Cook County was created, including within its limits all of the present County of Cook, the northern half of Will, all of DuPage, a small part of Kane and McHenry, and all of Lake. By the same act Chicago was made the county seat. Will County was created January 12, 1836, including within its boundaries the present Will County and that part of Kankakee north of the Kankakee River; Kane and McHenry counties were created on January 16 of the same year, Kane County having within its boundaries practically all of the present counties of Kane and DeKalb and the northern part of the present Kendall; McHenry County including within its borders all the present County of McHenry and the present County of Lake. DuPage County was created out of Cook County with its present boundary lines on February 9, 1839. Since then the boundaries of Cook County have remained as they are at present.

The population of Cook County from the beginning of the eighteenth century until Illinois was organized as a State was so small that no courts of civil or criminal jurisdiction were required. On August 3, 1795, Gen. Wayne signed a treaty with the Indians by which they granted title to six miles square of territory at the mouth of the Chicago River to the United States. It is stated in some of the writings that at that point there had previously been a fort built by some French explorers.[2b] The first person, not an Indian, who settled at this point was DeSaible, a San Domingan Negro, who came in 1779. He lived here until he sold his cabin in 1796 to one Le Mai, a French trader. In the summer of 1803 the United States ordered the building of Fort Dearborn at the mouth of the Chicago River. A company of soldiers under Captain John Whistler, U. S. A., then stationed at Detroit, were ordered to go to Chicago for that purpose. When the party arrived there they found three or four cabins occupied by Canadian French and their Indian wives; among the inhabitants being Le Mai, Ouilmette and Pettell.[2c] In 1804 John Kinzie bought the house of Le Mai and moved into it with his family. He lived there until his death in 1828, except the four years after the Fort Dearborn massacre in 1812.[3] Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816. A few white persons came to Chicago shortly

[2] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series.
[2b] Qaife, Transactions, Illinois State Hist. Soc. 1912, p. 115.
[2c] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, p. 72.
[3] Vol. 1, Currey's History of Chicago, 89.

after this but there was little business there of any kind except trading with the Indians or with the soldiers at the garrison or any practical settlement for farming or other business purposes until a law was passed for the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. On the south branch of the Chicago River one Charles Lee settled at a place called Hard Scrabble in 1804. In 1816 this place was used as a trading post and so continued until 1826. Major Long of the United States government topographical engineers visiting Chicago in 1823, said it was inhabited by a miserable race of people in a few log or bark huts, displaying not the least trace of comfort and affording no inducement to the settler.[4] In 1821 one Ebenezer Childs visited Chicago, and made a second visit in 1827, when he wrote the place had not improved since 1821, that only two families resided there.[5] When Peoria County was created it had Chicago within its governmental jurisdiction, as we have seen, but even then it had only a mythical existence, the name sometimes applying to the river and sometimes to the cluster of inhabitants on its sandy, marshy banks.[6] The Illinois and Michigan Canal having obtained its magnificent grant of land from the government on August 4, 1830, the original plat of the town was made, lying east of the south branch and south of the main river.[7] Previous to this time this land had been mostly fenced in and used by the garrison of the fort as a pasture.[8] At the time of this platting the place contained only five or six log houses and the population was less than 100.[9] In estimating or approximating the population of Chicago at this time one of the writers gives the following: 1829, 30; 1831, 60; 1832, 600; 1833, 350; 1834, 1,800.[10]

In 1833 the village of Chicago was incorporated under a general act of the State. At an election held August 10, 1833, 28 voters appeared and the trustees elected met August 12, 1833, for their first regular meeting.[11] The charter incorporating Chicago as a city was passed by the Legislature March 4, 1837. The first city election was held May 2, 1837. From that time dates the existence of Chicago as a city.[12]

Previous to the organization of the County of Cook, January 15, 1831, naming Chicago as the county seat, there had been little need by the few inhabitants of the territory within Cook County for the settlement of their disputes by courts of justice. Indeed it may well be doubted whether, had there been courts, there would have been any business for them. The history of this pioneer community in this regard was similar to that of every small community first settling a new country. Any disputes between the inhabitants were settled by compromise, the advice of other settlers, or by force. As there was a United States garrison at this point during most of the years from the time the first white inhabitants arrived until the county was organized, the officers of the garrison exercised a restraining influence over the few inhabitants not connected with the fort. This was illustrated at Chicago when John

[4] Directory of Chicago, 1839, Historical Sketch, 2 Fergus Historical Series; 1 Currey's History of Chicago, 131.
[5] 1 Currey's History of Chicago, 135.
[6] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 174.
[7] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 174; 2 Kirkland & Moses' History of Chicago, 181; 1 Currey's History of Chicago, 227; Part 1, James' Charters of Chicago, 18.
[8] Annals of Chicago, Balestier, 1 Fergus Historical Series, 23.
[9] Annals of Chicago, Balestier, Fergus Historical Series, 24.
[10] 1 Andreas History of Chicago, 159.
[11] Part 1, James' Charters of Chicago, 20.
[12] Part 1, James' Charters of Chicago, 22, 23.

Kinzie, who had been having trouble for years with a trader named Lalime, finally was attacked by him and as a result of the combat Lalime was killed. Kinzie, after having his wounds dressed by his wife, escaped to Milwaukee, where he remained until he was satisfied the officers of the garrison were convinced—as he had maintained from the first—that he had killed the man in self-defense. He then returned to his home in Chicago and nothing was done to try or punish him. During the few years immediately preceding the organization of Cook County the gradual increase in the number of white inhabitants gave cause for occasional requirements for the settlement of disputes by civil courts. More often there was a desire to have these civil officials perform marriage ceremonies, as there were no resident ministers. Until 1826 justics were appointed under the law by the Legislature on the recommendation of the local authorities and held office during good behavior. This law was changed in that year so that thereafter justices of the peace were elected every four years.[13] There seem to have been no justices of the peace living within the present territory of Cook County before 1821 and perhaps not before 1823. On June 5, 1821, the commissioners of Pike County (Cook County was then within that county) recommended John Kinzie as a suitable person to be appointed as justice of the peace;[14] there is no record showing that Kinzie was then appointed. In 1823, Cook County being set off as under the government of Fulton County, John Kinzie on December 2, 1833, was again recommended for the office of justice of the peace.[15] This date is sometimes given as February 11, 1823, and sometimes as July 5, 1823.[16] One Amherst C. Ransom, sometimes called Rausam, was recommended for justice of the peace on June 17, 1823, and qualified for the appointment. It is not at all certain, however, that he ever resided in Chicago.[17] Some writers on that subject may have been misled into thinking he resided here because in June, 1823, as assessor he levied a tax on all personal property in Chicago under the order of the Fulton County authorities.[18] On January 13, 1825, one "Kinsey" was confirmed by the State Senate as justice of the peace for the County of Peoria, just then organized. It is generally supposed that this name "Kinsey" was intended for John Kinzie. John Kinzie, however, was not commissioned until July 25, 1825. The authorities agree that he was the first resident justice of the peace in Chicago—his previous recommendations apparently had not been followed by appointment.[19] Two other justices, Alexander Wolcott and Jean B. Beaubien, were appointed September 10, 1825, and they with Kinzie were the judges of election in the Chicago precinct of Peoria on December 7, 1825. The office of justice of the peace, as already stated, was made elective in 1826 and several of them were elected between that date and 1831. Among others, Russell E. Heacock became justice September 10, 1831. The writers state he was probably the first justice in Cook County before whom trials were held.[20] He was also the first resi-

[13] Historical Sketch of Courts of Illinois, Carter, 11.
[14] 2 Kirkland & Moses' History of Chicago, 152.
[15] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 426, 2 Kirkland & Moses' History of Chicago, 152.
[16] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, 50.
[17] John Wentworth's Reminiscences of Chicago, Supplement, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, 41.
[18] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, Supplement, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, p. 42
[19] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 420.
[20] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 18.

dent lawyer in Chicago,[21] unless we except the first Indian agent, Charles Jouett, who came here in 1805, and returned in 1816. While he was here he did not attempt to follow his profession, but simply acted as agent of the government. Later he was a judge in Kentucky and Arkansas.[22]

There seem to have been some duties for a constable to perform, as September 6, 1825, Archibald Clybourn, then residing at Chicago, was appointed constable in and for the County of Peoria.[23] There is no authentic record that any civil suit was tried before any of these justices previous to the organization of the county in 1831. Their business, if they had any, consisted of performing marriage ceremonies, drawing and acknowledging legal papers and serving as officials at various elections that were held. The first marriage that occurred in Chicago was performed by John Hamlin, a justice of the peace of Fulton County, on July 20, 1823, between Dr. Alexander Wolcott, then Indian agent here, and Eleanor Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie. Justice Hamlin seems to have been passing through Chicago and performed the ceremony there, filing on September 4, 1823, the marriage certificate in Fulton County.[24] One of the provisions of the act creating Cook County was that an election should be held at Chicago on the first Monday in March next for "one sheriff, one coroner and three county commissioners." There was only one voting place for this election. The first commissioners elected were Samuel Miller, Gholson Kercheval and James Walker. These men, under the laws then in force, formed the first county commissioners' court of Cook County. They organized that court and took the oath of office on March 8, 1831, before Justice of the Peace J. S. C. Hogan. William See was appointed clerk.[25] At the first session of the court, grand and petit jurors were selected. On April 13 of the same year a special term of court was held, largely for county business. The county commissioners' court had jurisdiction over public roads, turnpikes, canals, toll bridges, and in all things concerning public revenues, county taxes, licensing ferries, taverns and all other licenses, but without any original or appellate jurisdiction in civil or criminal suits, except in cases where the public concerns of the county were involved and in all public business.[26] This court practically did all the business that is now done by the board of supervisors or county commissioners of counties and in addition did a considerable part of the work that is done now by the county courts of the various counties. Commissioners were elected biennially at the time Cook County was organized. In March, 1837, the law was changed, providing that three commissioners should be elected at the next election, one to hold for one year, one for two years and one for three years, and every year thereafter an election for one commissioner to hold for three years.

No general election was held until 1832. The first sheriff, Stephen Forbes, seems to have been elected in that year.[27] He taught school for

[21] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, 18.
[22] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 419-420.
[23] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, 42; 1 Andreas History of Chicago, 103.
[24] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 90; Chapman's History of Fulton County, 248.
[25] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 116.
[26] Laws of 1819, 175; Historical Sketch of Courts of Illinois, 9.
[27] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 114.

three months in Chicago in 1830 and was selected justice of the peace on December 13, 1830.[28] The first coroner was John R. Clark.[29]

By an act of February 16, 1831, it was provided that the counties of Cook, LaSalle, Putnam, Peoria and eleven other counties should constitute the Fifth Judicial Circuit. This circuit included all of the organized counties then in the State north of Pike County and west and north of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers. The act further provided that there should be two terms of the circuit court held annually in each of the counties—in Cook County on the fourth Monday of April, and second Monday in September. Judge Richard M. Young was named as the judge to preside in the circuit. This court had then practically the same general jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters as now. No definite information can be obtained, the records having been destroyed by the Chicago fire, as to the time of holding the first term of the circuit court. The late Governor Bross in 1853 in a historical sketch of the city of Chicago (p. 26) stated that the public minutes (apparently the minutes of the county commissioners court) provided, September 6, 1831, that "the circuit court be held in Fort Dearborn in the brick house, and in the lower room of said house." The same writer states (p. 27) that the county commissioners authorized April 4, 1832, the sheriff to procure a room or rooms for the April term of the circuit court at the house of James Kinzie, "provided it can be done at a cost of not more than $10." At the funeral of Col. Hamilton (the first clerk of the circuit court) in 1860, Judge Manierre stated that the first term was held in September, 1831. It is also stated by another authority that Judge Young during this year on a trip to Chicago to hold court was accompanied by lawyers Mills and Strode, bringing fresh news of the Indian troubles which culminated in the Black Hawk War. Charlesr Ballance in his history of Peoria states that Judge Young made his appearance in Peoria in May, 1833, and announced that he was on his way to Chicago to hold court, and that on that occasion he (Ballance) attended court at Chicago.[30] Thomas Hoyne, who was deputy circuit clerk under Col. Hamilton in 1837, states in a lecture that he gave on the "Lawyer as a Pioneer," that the first term of the court was held in Cook County in September, 1833,[31] by Judge Young and that Judge Young also held a term in May, 1834, in an unfinished wooden building known as the Tremont House; that Judge Sidney Breese held a term there in the spring of 1835, exchanging with Judge Young, and in the fall of that year Judge Stephen T. Logan exchanged with Judge Young and held the next term there. John D. Caton, formerly a member of the Supreme Court of the State, came to Chicago in 1833. In his reminiscences published in 1893 he states that the first term held there for the trial of cases before a petit jury was the May term, 1834. In another place he states that this was the first case ever tried in Chicago in a court of record.[32] He believed this to be true because he remembered his case was number one on the docket of the circuit court of Cook County. If this is correct, Judge Young may have come to Chicago on any or all of

[28] Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, Supp. 41.
[29] Bross' History of Chicago, 27.
[30] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 420.
[31] The Lawyer as a Pioneer, Hoyne, 22 and 23 Fergus Historical Series, 77.
[32] 3 Currey's History of Chicago, 308; 2 Kirkland & Moses' History of Chicago, 153.

the terms for the years 1831, 1832 and 1833, though no regular court was held for the trial of cases until the spring term of 1834. Writers on this subject generally accept Judge Caton's statement as correct. I am disposed to question its accuracy. His statement was made after the records were destroyed, when Judge Caton was an old man. I have no doubt that he believed he was speaking the absolute truth, but it would seem passing strange that Judge Manierre, who made his statement when the records were still in existence and Attorney Hoyne, who was as familiar with the early records in the circuit clerk's office as any man in Chicago, should have made incorrect statements as to the time when the first term of court was held, and that all those statements should be published without some one calling attention to the error. On the information that I have been able to obtain I should hesitate to state positively that the first term of court was held either in 1833 or 1834. I am inclined to think, however, that the data at hand fairly justifies the conclusion that a term of the circuit court was held earlier than 1834.

Judge Thomas Ford, afterwards Governor, was circuit judge in this district from January, 1835, until about the first of March, 1837. John Pearson succeeded him as judge of the circuit court, and presided in Cook County from 1837 until he resigned in November, 1840. February 10, 1841, the circuit judges were all legislated out of office and five new judges of the Supreme Court appointed. The Supreme Court was then composed of nine members, not only to hear the cases appealed to that court, but to try all the cases in the circuit courts in the State. To the circuit in which Cook County was located, Judge Theophilus W. Smith of the Supreme Court was assigned for circuit court work. He held his first term in Chicago in April, 1841. In 1842 Stephen A. Douglas, who was then on the Supreme bench, held circuit court at Chicago in July.

The first public prosecutor in the circuit in which Cook County was placed was Thomas Ford, afterward circuit judge. Later James Grant was prosecutor. Grant afterward moved to Iowa and served as a judge of the district court of that State.

Col. Richard J. Hamilton was not only the first clerk of the circuit court, but the first probate judge. The first will placed on record was that of Alexander Wolcott, for years Indian agent at Chicago, filed April 27, 1831, before Judge Hamilton.

There was when Cook County was organized, a court of probate in each county. The judge was selected by the General Assembly on joint ballot, to hold his office during good behavior. That court had jurisdiction in all matters touching the probate of wills, granting letters testamentary, and the settlement of estates. The law was amended in 1837 so that at the first election, to be held on the first Monday of August, 1839, and every fourth year thereafter, there should be elected an additional justice of the peace for each county to be styled "Probate Justice of the Peace;" to have the jurisdiction in civil cases conferred by law upon all other justices of the peace and to be vested with all judicial powers theretofore exercised by the judges of probate. In 1845 the law was changed so that they were elected for two years. Col. Hamilton held the office of probate judge until 1835, when he resigned. He resigned as clerk of the circuit court in 1841, at the time Judge Theophilus W.

Smith came here to hold circuit court. Judge Smith appointed one of his sons-in-law, Henry G. Hubbard, as circuit clerk to succeed Col. Hamilton.[33] It may be stated in this connection that Col. Hamilton, shortly after he arrived here, was appointed to fill a vacancy as clerk of the county commissioners' court and held the office of school commissioner for years, and was also recorder of Cook County. It is apparent that there were then more offices than there were men competent to fill them, or at least men who desired to fill them.

The first city charter of Chicago provided (section 68), that the mayor should have the same jurisdiction within its limits, and be entitled to the same fees and emoluments as were given to justices of the peace, upon his conforming to the requirements of the law of the State with reference to that office.[34] I cannot find that any mayor of Chicago exercised the functions of justice of the peace until in March, 1849, when Mayor Woodworth of Chicago sent a message to the council stating that he would cooperate with them in holding such court, and in pursuance of that idea a mayor's court was instituted and notices given to all police constables that violators of any city ordinance would be brought before the mayor daily at 9:00 o'clock in his office in the north room of the market.[35] By section 69 of the first charter it was provided that there should be established in the city of Chicago a municipal court, to have jurisdiction concurrent with the circuit courts, in civil and criminal cases arising within the limits of the city, or where either the plaintiff or defendant resided, at the commencement of the suit, within the city. By a supplemental act passed July 31, 1837,[36] it was provided that the judge of the municipal court of Chicago should perform all the duties pertaining to the office of the judge of the circuit court. This court was created because of the great increase in business in the circuit court in Cook County. Judge Thomas Ford, who had recently resigned as circuit judge, was appointed by the Legislature as the first judge of this municipal court. The terms were held alternate months.

An attempt was made during the hard times of 1837 to prevent the opening of this court. Many of the obligations created during the speculative period—which was then about at an end—were maturing and the debtors were unable to meet them. The dockets were crowded in both the circuit and municipal courts and many thought that something must be done to prevent the collection of these claims. Some of the debtors felt that no court should be held. A public meeting was called at the New York House—a frame building on the north side of Lake Street near Wells. It was held at evening in a long, low dining room, lighted only by tallow candles. The chair was occupied by the State Senator from Chicago, one Peter Pruyne. James Curtiss, nominally a lawyer, but more of a politician, who had practically abandoned his profession, was one of the principal advocates of the suspension of the courts, as was also a judge of the Supreme Court, Theophilus W. Smith. On the other side were Butterfield, Ryan, Scammon, Spring, Ogden, Arnold and others. The opponents of the courts claimed that if they remained open, judgments would be entered against debtors to the

[33] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 145.
[34] Laws of Illinois, 1836-7, p. 75.
[35] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 448.
[36] Special Session, Laws of Illinois, 1837, p. 15.

amount of $2,000,000, or $500 to each man, woman and child in Chicago. Curtiss said no one was to be benefited but the lawyers by keeping the courts open, and that he had left that profession. Ryan, afterwards chief justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, a man of large frame, great intellect and great in debate, arose and said, pointing to Curtiss, that if the debtors expected that kind of a lawyer to save them they would be mistaken; that it had long been a question whether Curtiss had left the profession of the law, or the profession of the law had left him. Butterfield sharply scored Judge Smith for descending "from that lofty seat of a sovereign people, majestic as the law, to take a seat with an assassin and murderer of the law like Judge Lynch." The debate waxed fast and furious, but in the end the good sense of the meeting resulted in the resolution being laid on the table and the courts were kept open, as they have ever been since in this State.[37] Out of the discussion over that question arose an agitation which resulted February 15, 1839, in the Legislature abolishing the court and transferring its business to the circuit court of Cook County. Judge Ford was shortly after commissioned as judge of the new circuit created a few days later.[38] Within a year after the municipal court was abolished it became evident that the increase of business in the circuit court required some relief. Special terms of that court were authorized for Cook County. February 21, 1845, the Legislature of the State established the Cook County Court, the judge to be chosen and hold office the same as a circuit judge, and the court to have concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court; the court to hold four terms a year; the clerk of the court to be appointed by the judge. Hugh T. Dickey was chosen by the Legislature as the first judge of this court, and James Curtiss was appointed by him as first clerk.[39]

The first United States Court was opened in Chicago, in July, 1848. In the absence of Circuit Judge John McLean, the court was held by Judge Nathaniel Pope of the Federal District Court, with his son William as clerk.[40]

In March, 1845, the JoDaviess County Court was established with the same jurisdiction as the Cook County Court, the Cook County judge being required to hold the JoDaviess County Court. The Constitution of 1848 provided that these two courts were to be continued until otherwise provided by law. The next year the JoDaviess County Court was abolished and the Cook County Court was changed into the Cook County Court of Common Pleas, which afterward became the Superior Court of Chicago and later the present Superior Court of Cook County.

The first public building of which any mention is made was the "estray pen," erected on the southwest corner of the public square. The next public building was the jail, erected in the fall of 1833, "of logs well bolted together," on the northwest corner of the public square. It stood there until 1852.[41] Chicago has had four different court houses located on the public square on which stand the county building and city hall. This ground was conveyed by Congress in 1827 to the State of Illinois as a part of the canal grant. Twenty-four lots were deeded to

[37] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 444; The Lawyer as a Pioneer, 88; 22 and 23 Fergus Historical Series, 88.
[38] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 444.
[39] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 446.
[40] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 448.
[41] Bross' History of Chicago, 27.

Cook County January 16, 1831, to aid in the erection of public buildings. Of these twenty-four lots thus given, sixteen were afterwards sold to pay current expenses.[42] The remaining eight lots (bounded by Clark, Randolph, LaSalle and Washington streets) were retained as the public square.[43] In 1835 a substantial brick court house was erected. This appears to have been located on the northeast corner of the block facing Clark Street. The basement was for the office of the clerk and the first floor was for the court room, which would seat about 200 people.[44] The city authorities never had any office in this building. In 1850 or 1851 the county and city authorities agreed to build jointly a court house and city hall on this block. The corner stone was laid September 12, 1851. The building was three stories high, the main part being 100 feet square and the jail being in the basement. In 1853 it was ready for occupancy. The Court of Common Pleas first occupied the edifice in February of that year.[45] This building was soon found too small and another story was added, but this became inadequate for the growing needs of the county, and in 1870 it was extensively added to by wings on the east and west. This work was completed shortly before the Chicago fire.[46] After the fire the county and city authorities were obliged for several years to find quarters in a temporary building hastily erected on the southeast corner of Adams and LaSalle, which from the rough manner of its construction became known as the "Rookery." In 1877 the city and county entered into an agreement for the construction of a building which was completed in 1885 and occupied as a city hall and county building until the present structure was commenced, the building being completed in 1911.[47]

Thus, in bare outline, I have named the various courts in Cook County under the Constitution of 1818 and some of the officials of those courts, but a history of the courts is necessarily incomplete unless it discusses some of the cases tried and gives an account of some of the lawyers who practiced therein. Russell E. Heacock, as stated, was the first resident lawyer in Chicago, coming in 1827.[48] Col. Hamilton had been admitted to the bar and evidently advised people on legal matters while he was acting as circuit clerk and probate judge. Isaac Harmon was a justice of the peace and advised occasionally on legal matters, as did Archibald Clybourn, who lived outside of the city. None of these men had at that time opened an office or tried to earn a living by law. Heacock followed his early trade of carpenter and Harmon worked in a tannery.[49] Judge Caton in his reminiscences, states that he came here June 19, 1833, and found Giles Spring had preceded him by a few days. Caton and Spring therefore seem to have been the first men that located here and opened offices to practice law. Between that time and the date when Thomas Hoyne came in 1837, several lawyers had located in Chicago who became prominent not only in the courts but in other ways in the later history of the city. He states that at that time there were

[42] Prospects of Chicago, Brown, 9 Fergus Historical Series, 16.
[43] 3 Currey's History of Chicago, 302.
[44] 3 Currey's History of Chicago, 302; Bross' History of Chicago, 119.
[45] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 180.
[46] 3 Currey's History of Chicago, 302-303.
[47] 3 Currey's History of Chicago, 303.
[48] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 107.
[49] Caton's Early Bench and Bar of Illinois, 2.

twenty-seven persons engaged in the practice of law in Cook County.[50] Among this number were Judge Caton, Giles Spring, James Grant, Ebenezer Peck, Grant Goodrich, J. Young Scammon, Mark Skinner, Isaac N. Arnold, Alonzo Huntington, Hugh T. Dickey, Joseph N. Balestier, James H. Collins, A. N. Fullerton, Buckner S. Morris, Henry Moore, Edward W. Casey and Justin Butterfield.

Judge Caton had studied law with James H. Collins in New York State. Collins came the next year after Caton and located on a farm in what is now Kendall County. Judge Caton persuaded him to come to Chicago and the two entered into partnership, under the firm name of Collins & Caton. Later Collins became a partner of Butterfield. He was chief counsel for Owen Lovejoy when the latter was being tried in Bureau County for assisting runaway slaves to escape. This trial was held before Judge Caton, then on the Supreme Court, but holding circuit court, and resulted in the acquittal of Lovejoy. Collins was a man of great perseverance and resolution, and a hard worker, a strong lawyer, but without great brilliancy.

Isaac N. Arnold came to Chicago in 1836. He was the first city clerk after the incorporation of the city.[51] He was a great personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. He was elected in 1860 as a member of Congress and served until 1864. He wrote a history of Lincoln, which is held in high esteem. He tried many important cases; among others, while a young lawyer in Chicago, was one to test the constitutionality of the "stay law," so called, which he claimed was a step toward repudiation. The law provided that no land should be sold under a mortgage before being appraised, and unless it should bring at least two-thirds of such appraisal. He filed a bill in the courts in 1841 to foreclose a mortgage praying for the sale to the highest bidder regardless of the redemption and State laws. The United States Supreme Court upheld his contention and enforced a strict foreclosure.[52] Another case involving the land laws was heard in the State courts[53] (Brainerd v. Canal Trustees), in which he and Senator Douglas were counsel. This is one of the few cases that Douglas argued before the Supreme Court of Illinois, after he resigned his membership in that court to become a member of Congress. Hugh T. Dickey, as already stated, was the first judge of the Cook County Court, being appointed in 1845. He resigned in 1848 on his election as a circuit judge under the new Constitution. He was succeeded by Giles Spring as judge of the Cook County Court. Judge Dickey resigned as circuit judge in 1853 and was succeeded by Buckner S. Morris. Morris had been mayor and alderman of Chicago before he was a circuit judge. In 1860 he was a candidate for Governor of Illinois on the Bell-Everett ticket. Grant Goodrich was a leading lawyer in Chicago from the time he came until the time of his death, and served for a time on the bench. Lincoln's biographers state that Goodrich in the 50's offered Lincoln a partnership if he would come to Chicago, but Lincoln declined because he was afraid the climate would not agree with him.[54] Ebenezer Peck came to Chicago in 1835 and soon took a very active part in public affairs. In 1849 he was chosen as reporter of the

[50] The Lawyer as a Pioneer, Hoyne, 22 and 23 Fergus Historical Series, 84.
[51] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 435.
[52] Bronson v. Kinzie, 1 How. (U. S.) 311.
[53] Brainerd v. Canal Trustees, 12 Ill., 448.
[54] Lincoln the Lawyer, Hill, 161.

Supreme Court to succeed Gilman and held that position until 1863, when he resigned on being appointed by Lincoln one of the judges of the Court of Claims of the District of Columbia. Among the most remarkable lawyers in the early history of the Chicago courts was Justin Butterfield. Arnold and others of his associates state that he was the best trial lawyer of his day in the city, if not in the State. He served as United States prosecuting attorney for the District of Illinois from 1841 to 1844. He was appointed commissioner of the General Land Office by President Taylor, a position which Lincoln was also then seeking. It is said that Butterfield was appointed because of the warm personal friendship of Daniel Webster. Perhaps no other lawyer in the history of the State has had so many anecdotes told of him illustrating his power of sarcasm and repartee. He was a very forceful speaker, but not always a persuasive one before juries.

Samuel Lyle Smith came to Chicago in 1838 and made his headquarters in the office of Butterfield & Collins. In 1839 he was chosen city attorney. The lawyers of that day speak of him as one of the most eloquent men ever at the Chicago bar. In 1847, at the River and Harbor Convention in Chicago, he especially distinguished himself as an orator. Henry Clay is said to have stated that he was the greatest orator he ever heard.[55] He died in 1854 when a little past 40, during the cholera epidemic. James H. Collins and several other lawyers were among the many who passed away at the same time by this dread disease.

Thomas Hoyne, the father of Thomas M. Hoyne, one of the oldest practicing lawyers now in Chicago, and grandfather of the present State's attorney of Cook County, came to this city in 1837, studying law after his arrival. He was elected city clerk of Chicago in 1840, and elected probate justice of the peace in 1845, holding the latter position until the court was abolished by the Constitution of 1848. When the first University of Chicago was established, he was elected one of the board of trustees. He was connected with the law schools of Chicago practically from the time the first one was started as teacher or trustee. In 1876 he was elected mayor of Chicago, but served only a few months, as there was a dispute about whether the election was properly held and a special election was called.[56] He was considered one of the greatest ornaments of the bar of Chicago. Edward G. Ryan was for several years a practicing lawyer in Chicago, and also edited a newspaper. He afterward moved to Wisconsin and became one of the great chief justices of the Supreme Court of that state. Time will not permit a further discussion of the members of the bar of that period.

I have already referred to the first term of court held in the circuit court of Cook County. Before taking up and discussing any of the trials in courts of record, it is proper to refer briefly to the first criminal case of which we have any account, tried within the limits of Chicago. This was prosecuted by Judge Caton shortly after his arrival, the complaint being sworn out before Justice Heacock. The charge was that of robbing from one Hatch thirty-four dollars in eastern currency while stopping at the tavern. On a change of venue to Justice Harmon on the north side, the case was prosecuted by Caton and defended by Giles Spring and

[55] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 432.
[56] 2 Andreas' History of Chicago, 464.

Col. Hamilton, and the man held to the circuit court for trial. He was let out on bail and disappeared, so the case was never further prosecuted. Judge Caton, in his reminiscences, says this was the first case entered of record in the circuit court, and also that he had the first civil case, an attachment proceeding filed in the circuit court. This last mentioned is the case he claims was the first jury case tried in Cook County.

The first divorse suit was started at the May term, 1834, in the circuit court of Cook County, which was then being held in an unfinished loft of the old Mansion House, just north of where the old Tremont Building stood.[57] The first murder trial was at the fall term in 1834, in an unfinished store 20 x 40 on Dearborn, between Lake and Water streets. Judge Young presided. A laborer in a drunken fit went home in the month of June that year, and finding something wrong in his domestic affairs—apparently his supper not ready—manifested his dissatisfaction by beating his wife. The physicians testified she died from the effects of the beating and the coroner's jury held him to answer for the murder and he was indicted for that crime. He was prosecuted by the district attorney, Thomas Ford, and defended by James H. Collins, Judge Caton's partner, and acquitted.[58]

So far as I am able to ascertain, the second murder trial in Cook County was in 1840, that of John Stone for the killing of Mrs. Lucretia Thompson. The evidence against him was purely circumstantial. Stone was indicted for murder and on the trial convicted and sentenced to be hanged.[59] The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State on a writ of error and the judgment affirmed.[60] He was accordingly executed on July 10, 1840, the place of execution being about three miles south of the court house in Chicago, not far from the lake shore.

This case was tried before Judge John Pearson. One of the jurors was John Wentworth, who at that time and for years afterward was the editor of *The Democrat,* a paper published in Chicago. A rival newspaper, *The Chicago Daily American,* charged that Wentworth was writing editorials in the jury room while the case was being conducted. The case was tried at the April term, 1840. Contempt proceedings were instituted at the May term, 1840, before Judge Pearson and a rule entered against the editor, William Stuart, of *The American,* to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt of court. After a hearing the court adjudged Stuart guilty and fined him $100 and costs. The case was taken by Stuart's attorneys, Justin Butterfield and Isaac N. Arnold, to the Supreme Court and reversed.[61] The opinion in the Supreme Court was written by Judge Breese, holding that while the court had the power to punish for contempt under such circumstances if the communications had a tendency to obstruct the administration of justice, the writings in question had no such tendency. The opinion said, among other things: "An honest, independent and intelligent court will win its way to public confidence, in spite of newspaper paragraphs, however pointed may be their wit or satire, and its dignity will suffer less by passing them by unnoticed, than by arraigning the perpetrators, and

[57] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 421; Wentworth's Reminiscences of Early Chicago, 7 and 8 Fergus Historical Series, 33.
[58] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 421; Caton's Early Bench and Bar of Illinois, 41.
[59] 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 152, 445.
[60] Stone v. People, 2 Scam., 326.
[61] Stuart v. People, 3 Scam., 395.

trying them in a summary way. . . . Respect to courts cannot be compelled; it is the voluntary tribute of the public to worth, virtue and intelligence, and whilst they are found upon the judgment seat, so long, and no longer, will they retain the public confidence. . . . In restricting the power to punish for contempts to the cases specified, more benefits will result than by enlarging it. It is at best an arbitrary power, and should only be exercised on the preservative, and not on the vindictive principle. It is not a jewel of the court, to be admired and prized, but a rod rather, and most potent when rarely used." Stephen A. Douglas dissented and Judge Caton, not having heard the argument, took no part in the decision. I am disposed to agree with the sentiments expressed and the conclusion reached by the opinion.

Judge Pearson had considerable difficulty in Chicago while serving as circuit judge. The majority of the lawyers, without regard to politics, were opposed to his appointment. The new circuit, the Seventh, was created February 4, 1837, including the counties of Cook, Will, McHenry, Kane, LaSalle and Iroquois.[62] Judge Pearson then resided at Danville, outside of this judicial circuit. The lawyers thought he was incompetent for the position, not only in learning, but in other judicial qualities. His appointment from the first was very unpopular with the Chicago bar. Most of the lawyers in Chicago were Whigs, while Judge Pearson belonged to the Democratic party, and the lawyers charged that this new circuit was created for his appointment, in the same manner that in England sometimes younger children were provided for in a new colony. In 1838 writs of mandamus were issued by the Supreme Court in two different cases requiring certain action by him in the trial of those cases.[63] At the May special term in 1839 in the circuit court at Chicago, the case of Bristol v. Phillips was tried before him. Bristol's lawyer was J. Young Scammon, while Isaac N. Arnold was on the other side. A dispute arose over the signing of the bill of exceptions by the judge, who refused to sign the one Scammon thought should be signed. At the July term, 1839, of the Supreme Court, Scammon as attorney for Bristol, moved for a writ of mandamus against Pearson to require him to sign a bill of exceptions which had been tendered him. The court allowed the petition to be filed and issued an alternative writ. Scammon, the attorney in the case, attempted to hand the writ to Judge Pearson while in court, but he, fearing that Scammon would thus serve the writ, refused to recognize him when he arose to make motions, claiming to be engaged in other matters at the time. Scammon had previously been fined for contempt in another matter by Pearson. Scammon, therefore, when he found the court would not recognize him, put the bill of exceptions and writ to be served on Pearson in Justin Butterfield's hands. It was in the afternoon, just before the closing of the term of court, with practically all of the members of the bar present. Mr. Butterrfield arose and said he had received a communication from Col. Strode who had been called out of town in relation to business of the court, requesting him to present a motion in the case of People v. Hudson for the trial or discharge of Hudson at this term of court. The judge directed the clerk to file the paper and motion, which was done.

[62] Laws of Illinois, 1836-37, 113.
[63] People ex rel Teal v. Pearson, 1 Scam., 458; People ex rel Brown v. Pearson, 1 Scam., 473.

Then Mr. Butterfield handed up the papers given him by Scammon, saying it was a bill of exceptions in a case tried at a former term. The court said that he had not signed the bill of exceptions. Mr. Butterfield replied that he knew that was true, but, handing him another paper, said, "Here is a writ of mandamus from the Supreme Court, directing you to sign it." The court said, "What's that, sir?" Mr. Butterfield repeated his statement. The court, then, holding the paper towards Butterfield, said, "Take it away, sir." Butterfield said, "I cannot take it away, sir, it is directed to your honor, I will leave it with you. I have discharged my duty in serving it upon you and cannot take it back." The court then told the clerk to enter a fine of $20 against Butterfield and threw the papers, bill of exceptions and writ of mandamus, on the floor over the railing in front of the desk between the bench and the bar. The court then said, "What do you mean, sir?" Butterfield said, "I mean to proceed by attachment if you don't obey it!" The court then commanded, "Sit down, sir; sit down, sir," and ordered the clerk to proceed with the reading of the record. The judge afterward asked the clerk if he had entered the order for the fine of $20, and when the clerk told him he had, asked him to read it to him, and then told him to enter as a part of the order, "for an interruption." Mr. Butterfield objected to the change in the order, saying that the fine was not for an interruption. A somewhat complete history of this matter is found in the Illinois Supreme Court report of the case (People v. Pearson[64]), and also in an address of the Hon. Thomas Hoyne, "The Lawyer as a Pioneer."[65] Mr. Hoyne states that when the court adjourned and the judge left the bench, Mr. Butterfield stepped up to him and said, "Sir, you have now disgraced that bench long enough; sit down, sir, and let me beg you to attend a meeting of this bar instanter in which we are about to try your case, and rid ourselves and the people, once for all, of your incompetency and ignorance." The judge left, but the members of the bar prepared papers and that winter presented them before the House of Representatives at Springfield asking for articles of impeachment. The house, which was composed largely of the political friends of Judge Pearson, refused to order impeachment proceedings. They charged that the attack was a political prosecution gotten up by the old Federals and Whigs, but Mr. Hoyne, who himself was a Democrat, states that Edward G. Ryan, a lifelong Democrat, who was then running a Chicago paper called the *Tribune,* and who afterwards—as has been stated—became a chief justice of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, was one of Pearson's strongest opponents and critics, and that the charges against Pearson were not based on political differences. The case was heard late in 1839. In 1840 a motion was made in the Supreme Court for an attachment against the defendant for contempt in disobeying the writ of mandamus. The motion was allowed and the attachment issued. On a hearing before the court, at which Judge Pearson was represented, the jurisdiction of the court to punish was questioned for several reasons, among others, that Judge Pearson was no longer judge of the court. Under the advice of his friends, after the Supreme Court ordered him to sign the bill of exceptions, he had resigned as judge and had been

[64] 2 Scam., 189.

[65] The Lawyer as a Pioneer, Hoyne, 22 and 23 Fergus Historical Series, 90; 1 Andreas' History of Chicago, 444.

elected as State senator for the district comprising Cook, Will, DuPage and McHenry counties. It appears that after his appointment as circuit judge, he had moved from his home in Danville to Joliet, Will County, and lived there while he was circuit judge and when he was elected as senator. The Supreme Court, after a full hearing, decided it had jurisdiction and fined him $100 and costs of the proceeding.[66] Stephen A. Douglas was one of the Supreme Court judges at the time this fine was entered. He took no part in the decision because before his appointment as judge he had been counsel for Judge Pearson in the first case. The court was otherwise unanimous, except that Judge Breese wrote a separate concurring opinion in which he stated that possibly Judge Pearson's actions were based on the ground of misapprehension of his rights and duties as judge of the court. It also appears on a supplemental motion filed in this case by J. Young Scammon, that when the writ of attachment was issued, Judge Pearson could not be found in Springfield, and that he was pursued and overtaken and placed under arrest in Clay County, and brought back to Springfield. The court on this supplemental motion allowed the costs of this arrest to be charged against Pearson. This was at the December term, 1841. At the December term, 1842, counsel for Pearson made a motion for rehearing but this was denied.[67] It may also be noted that in the original case of Bristol v. Phillips the Supreme Court on motion for the attorney for Bristol after Judge Pearson had resigned, ordered the bill of exceptions that he had refused to sign, to be filed in the original case and taken to be true, the same as if it had been signed by the judge.[68] This case was never decided in the Supreme Court. It appears by stipulation filed in the clerk's office of that court July 8, 1842, that the case was settled by the parties, the judgment being reversed, each party paying his own costs. It may be interesting to note that this lawsuit was brought by Phillips against Bristol—the latter being captain of the steamboat James Madison—to recover for the loss of two trunks. That steamboat ran in 1838 between Detroit and Chicago. The wife and son of Phillips took passage on the boat at Detroit for Chicago. The claim was made that they took two trunks on the boat with them at Detroit and the trunks could not be found afterward. Phillips recovered this judgment against Bristol for the value of the trunks and contents. I do not think that Judge Pearson was dishonest or corrupt in his actions in this regard, but rather a man of strong passions, a warm friend and an uncompromising enemy. He was not broad-minded and was very impatient of criticism. He died at Danville, Illinois, in 1875.

While we cannot tell with certainty when the first case was tried in the circuit court of Cook County, the records of the Supreme Court show that the first case that was brought up by appeal or error from the Cook County courts to the Supreme Court was Webb v. Sturtevant at the December term, 1835, of that court.[69] This case was tried at the May term, 1835, of the Cook Circuit Court by Judge Sidney Breese. The lawyers were B. S. Morris and James Grant for appellant and Giles Spring and Ebenezer Peck for appellee. The opinion was written by

[66] People ex rel v. Pearson, 3 Scam., 270.
[67] People v. Pearson, 3 Scam., 406.
[68] Bristol v. Phillips, 3 Scam., 280.
[69] 1 Scam., 181.

Justice Lockwood. It was a dispute as to the possession of certain real estate to which both parties laid claim. The next case from the county was at the same term of the Supreme Court.[70] (Lovett v. Noble.) This case was also tried before Judge Sidney Breese in the circuit court. The lawyers for appellant were Judge Caton and Stephen A. Douglas and for appellee Ebenezer Peck and Giles Spring. The first people's case coming from Cook County reviewed by the Supreme Court was heard at the December term, 1836, of that court[71] (Baldwin v. People). Judge Caton represented the plaintiff in error and James Grant the people. Baldwin was charged with stealing a horse, and the proof showed it was a mare. The court held that the proof that the defendant had stolen a mare or gelding would sustain an indictment for stealing a horse and that the indictment charging that the horse was stolen and carried away would be sustained by proof that it was ridden, driven or led away. That seems to be a sensible decision, but to those who talk about technicalities (as the layman understands that term) controlling a case in the courts of review, it will be found that the Supreme Court of that time now and then reversed cases for reasons that laymen now would say were purely technical. As an example, the third criminal case reviewed by the Supreme Court of the State from Cook County[72] (Bell v. People) was on an indictment found in the municipal court of Chicago. The indictment purported to be found "by a grand jury chosen, selected and sworn in and for the City of Chicago and County of Cook." The court held that the municipal court could only have an indictment returned by grand jurors chosen within the City of Chicago, and that this indictment on its face showed that the jurors might have come from Cook County outside of Chicago; that the indictment alone must be taken for evidence of that fact, and that such an indictment on its face was bad, whereupon the court reversed the case. As the City of Chicago was within the County of Cook and the indictment could fairly be construed as meaning that the grand jurors were chosen and selected from the City of Chicago, within the County of Cook, I think the indictment might well have been sustained.

In the first Scammon Report of Supreme Court decisions are found twenty-nine cases brought up from Cook County for review by writ of error or appeal. Of the twenty-nine, eighteen were reversed, ten were affirmed, and one was partially affirmed and partially reversed. The critics of today who are of the opinion that all or most cases ought to be affirmed would here find data justifying an argument that the courts of that day were reversing cases unnecessarily. Let me say in passing that I do not agree with the argument that most cases are improperly reversed by courts of review. If no cases ought to be reversed, there would be no necessity of having courts of review. While courts of review should give weight to the real facts rather than to pleading; to the substance rather than the shadow; to substantial justice rather than to form, if justice is to be fairly and properly administered in this or any other state, it is frequently necessary for courts of review to reverse some cases.

[70] 1 Scam., 185.
[71] 1 Scam., 303.
[72] 1 Scam., 397.

The first case appealed from the Municipal Court of Chicago for review[73] is Peyton & Allen v. Tappan. This case was heard before Judge Ford on the municipal bench. In the two cases immediately preceding this one, found in the same volume of Supreme Court Reports, it is curious to note that in one appealed from McLean County and in the other from Cook County, Judge Ford took part. In the Cook County case he sat as judge of the circuit court when the summons was issued. In the case from McLean he was one of the lawyers. Evidently Judge Ford was a very busy man.

In May, 1835, Gen. John B. Beaubien went to the general land office and purchased for $94.61 the entire Fort Dearborn reservation. He had derived his military title of general from the fact that the State at that time was divided into military districts, the people electing a general in each district. He had lived upon the reservation for many years, and a law had been found which satisfied the land office that he could make the purchase. There was great excitement over this purchase. The newspapers published articles and the people discussed it at length. Some asked if he bought the fort or the land, and what were the officers to do? Some of the people congratulated him on having a fort of his own, and others asked if there would not be a conflict between the United States troops and the State militia. General Beaubien himself was in command of the militia. Nothing serious, however, occurred. A case was agreed upon for the courts and submitted in 1836 to Judge Ford in the circuit court of Cook County. Judge Ford decided against Beaubien's claim. On appeal to the Supreme Court of the State, that court reversed the circuit court, upholding Beaubien.[74] The case was then taken to the United States Supreme Court, which reversed the decision of the Supreme Court of the State, effectually wiping out every pretense of a right to the land as claimed by Beaubien.[75] Beaubien was glad to call at the United States land office and receive his money back without interest. This, however, did not end the agitation over the reservation. During the previous years, while the litigation was pending, the secretary of war authorized the solicitor of the general land office to come to Chicago and sell the land in the reservation. It was surveyed and platted as the Fort Dearborn Addition to Chicago and contained about fifty-three and one-fourth acres. All of this was sold by the government except what was needed for the occupancy of the public buildings. Beaubien had lived for years on some of the lots in this subdivision. He had many friends and there was a general public demand that when these lots were sold no one should bid against him; he was expected to buy his homestead for a nominal sum. Attorney James H. Collins was opposed to this plan to give the lots to Beaubien. He put in a sealed bid for the Beaubien homestead and it was struck off to Collins. His action aroused great excitement. His life was threatened and he was burned in effigy.[76]

Many other interesting trials and other matters could be referred to and much more could be said of the courts and the lawyers connected

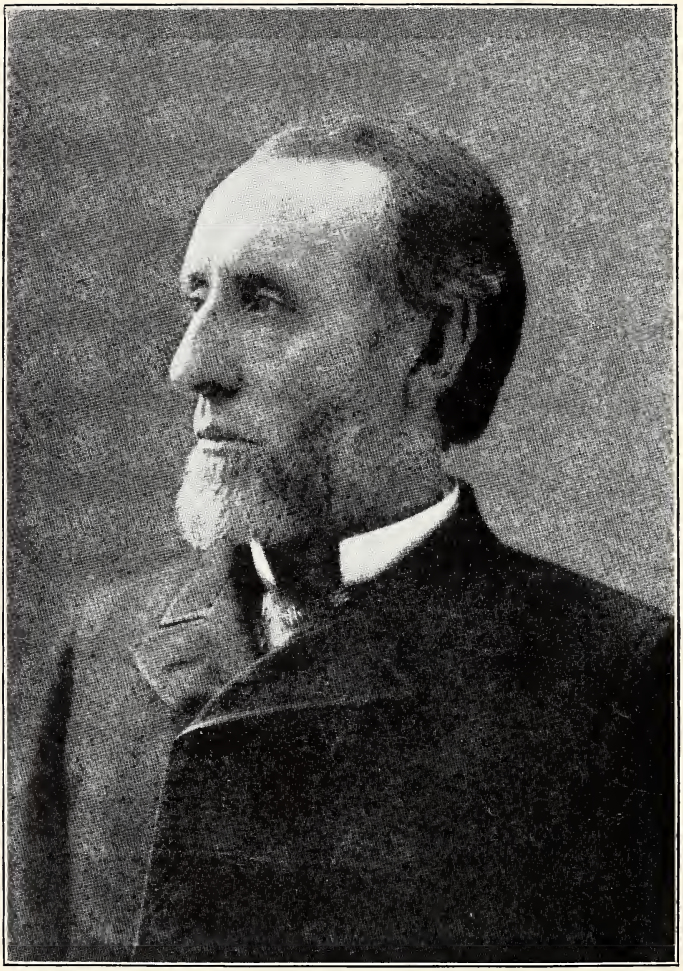
[73] 1 Scam., 387.
[74] McConnell v. Wilcox, 1 Scam., 344.
[75] Wilcox v. Jackson, 38 U. S., 4.
[76] Address on Ft. Dearborn, Wentworth, 16 Fergus Historical Series, 40, 41; Kirkland & Moses' History of Chicago, 191.

with the early history of Chicago. One cannot read the history of these men and their times without feeling that in the judicial forum as in other walks of life "there were giants in those days." There were Davis, Trumbull, Stephen T. Logan, Baker, Breese, Palmer, Douglas, Lincoln, and in Chicago, Butterfield, Arnold, Ryan, Goodrich, Spring, Hoyne and many others of great ability, who gave their best efforts to the enforcement of the law, so that every person, whatever his condition, might obtain justice in the courts.

I can appreciate how Arnold felt, when on a visit to England, he met in Westminster Hall Rev. Edward Porter, then a minister of Chicago, and when they were talking over the great trials that had been held there, Dr. Porter said, "This is the grandest forum of the world. And yet I have seen justice administered on the prairies of Illinois, without pomp or high ceremonial, everything simple to rudeness, yet justice has been administered before judges as pure, aided by lawyers as eloquent, if not as learned, as any who ever plead or gave judgment in Westminster Hall."[77] I believe that the same may be truly said of the courts and lawyers today in Illinois. If they are faithful to the traditions of their great predecessors, justice will be as fairly administered by judges as honest and pure, aided by lawyers as learned and eloquent as were those in the early history of the State, or even in Westminster "in the great Hall of William Rufus."

[77] Recollections of the Early Chicago and Illinois Bar, Arnold, 22 Fergus Historical Series, II.

NOTE—The original records have been examined in Pike, Fulton, Peoria and Putnam counties as to the facts stated herein as shown by the respective records of said counties. I am indebted for this examination in Pike County to Judge Harry Higbee, in Fulton County to Hon. B. M. Chiperfield, in Peoria County to Gerald H. Page, attorney-at-law, and in Putnam County to Judge John M. McNabb.



## THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF SHELBY M. CULLOM.

(By Henry A. Converse, of the Sangamon County Bar, Springfield.)

The year 1830 ushered in an era of great industrial activity in the United States. On November 2 of that year the first American railroad train made a trial trip from Schenectady to Albany, in the State of New York, a distance of seventeen miles. This diminutive and experimental forerunner of modern methods of transportation was hauled by a mere pygmy of a locomotive bearing the dignified and somewhat high sounding name, "Dewitt Clinton," having been named in honor of an early distinguished Governor of the Empire State. Within the space of half a century, the inventive and financial genius of our people had so developed the steam locomotive and the railway that by leaps and bounds railway mileage was increased to thousands and our nation, throughout its length and breadth, was indissolubly bound together by the great shining artificial channels of commerce, the American railway systems. It was the development of rapid transportation by means of the railroads that did more than any other agency in making our nation commercially one. It was the railroad that opened up and settled the prairie and forest. Over these highways were transported from the sea coast to the interior, all those blessings and comforts that go to make for the prosperity and well-being of a civilized and educated people.

The nation, the states and the smaller subdivisions of government all vied one with another in aiding and encouraging the building of railroads. Rights of way, vast tracts of land, and large sums of money were donated to the railroad builder. The credit of states and counties was pledged to promote this industry and vast issues of bonds were voted to carry on the good work.

At last the inevitable happened. The railroad systems when they had waxed fat and powerful, from the lavish generosity of the people, ceased to be disinterested benefactors and became benevolent monarchs and finally grew arrogant and tyrannical.

The people suddenly realized that they were entangled in the meshes of a vast network so interwoven that it could contract and strangle whole communities, that in order to further their own selfish ends the heads of the great railway systems could arbitrarily foster or destroy whole industries, and that favored individuals and localities could get such special privileges that competitors would be forced out of business. The vast business of the railroads was interstate, and under our National Constitution the individual states could not cope with this commercial monster. The question was momentous. To solve this great problem so that both the people and the railroads would get their rights without a financial upheaval called for statesmanship of the highest order. The time was ripe for a man, wise, discreet and foresighted, one who was courageous

enough to undertake a battle along the only line that could surely solve this troublesome question, the regulation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce.

In the year 1830, the same year that the "Dewitt Clinton" so bravely pulled the first American railway train, a man child, less than one year old, was brought by his parents from Wayne County, Kentucky, to Tazewell County, Illinois. This babe was named Shelby, after Governor Shelby, an early and distinguished Governor of the state of Kentucky. This babe grew to manhood, nourished and hardened by the clean, frugal, open air life of the Illinois prairie.

After half a century of industry and training, at the bar and in public life, in that most interesting period of our State's history, we find him a matured and trained lawyer, a successful politician, honored by his State as its Chief Executive. As Governor we find him studying and solving the question of railroad regulation. We see him step from the Governor's office into the United States Senate. At once he brings to that distinguished body his experience in railway legislation, and, within four years after entering the United States Senate, he writes upon our National Statute books the most constructive and progressive economic act ever passed by our National Legislature, "The Act to Regulate Interstate Commerce," commonly known as the "Cullom Act." The passage of this act of Congress is generally looked upon as the crowning piece of work in the career of Shelby M. Cullom. It will be in connection with this great law that his name will go down in history. The act was constructive because it curbed a great industrial evil without injury to the rights of property. It created an eminent tribunal which felt its way so carefully and administered its duties so wisely that Congress gradually added to its powers until finally the great interstate railway systems have been brought to the realization that they are public servants and not commercial masters. The act was progressive because it was the first real act of Congress exercising the power to regulate commerce among the States, a power that had lain dormant for practically one hundred years. It blazed the way for the passage of numerous acts based upon the National power to regulate commerce among the states, until this power is recognized as the seat of most of the authority in Congress to legislate for our commercial and industrial welfare. The free exercise of this power has made us one people, commercially, and has completely laid the very ghost of State's Rights.

The subject of this sketch, Shelby M. Cullom, has been presented thus far, by a portrayal of the accomplished act of a matured man. The purpose in thus presenting the subject is, that we may have clearly in mind a full realization that this noble son of Illinois, who has but a few days since passed to the great beyond, this man whom many considered behind the times, one of the old guard, a practical politician of the old school, a time serving office holder, possibly lacking in initiative, was in fact a great public spirited soul, who patiently, ploddingly and courageously, almost single handed, attacked in its stronghold one of our most strongly entrenched special interests, made that special interest amenable to the law and emancipated a people who were on the verge of industrial slavery. Having thus given our subject a stage setting, as it were, let us examine further into the acts and doings of our fellow

citizen, and we will find that in private life, at the bar, in the legislative halls, in the executive chair, he moved steadily forward, ever at work, always accomplishing something worth while, clean in public and private life, honored and respected by his fellow man, by his public services a public benefactor.

Shelby Moore Cullom was born in Wayne County, Kentucky, November 22, 1829. He died at Washington, D. C., January 28, 1914. He was the seventh child resulting from the marriage of Richard Northcroft Cullom to Elizabeth Coffey. The elder Cullom moved his family to Tazewell County, Illinois, in 1830.

Shelby M. Cullom received such a common school education as the limited facilities of a rural community then afforded. As the result of teaching school for two terms and farming for himself he succeeded in securing enough funds to take a two-year course at Mount Morris Seminary. It was here that he met and formed a lifelong attachment for the distinguished Illinoisan, Robert R. Hitt.

Young Cullom by reason of his clean, open air life was vigorous and strong although tall and spare. In traveling from Tazewell County to Mount Morris he underwent such an exposure and strain that he seriously impaired his health and from that day to his death he had a veritable thorn in the flesh. The trip from Peru to Dixon was by stage coach. A terrific snow storm came up and the driver could not follow the road. Young Cullom went ahead of the horses to lead the way. In the struggle through the blinding storm he overtaxed his heart, the overexertion causing what is known as a leaky heart, an affliction which during his long life frequently subjected him to fainting spells, greatly to his embarrassment. For many years prior to his death, while he was actively engaged in public life, or in the stress of a political struggle, his close friends were in constant alarm lest one of these fainting spells would carry him off.

After completing his education young Cullom determined to follow his ambition to practice law and came to Springfield, the State Capital. He sought permission to read law in the office of Abraham Lincoln, but Mr. Lincoln at that time was absent from his office so much, riding the circuit, that he advised young Cullom to enter the office of Stuart & Edwards, which he accordingly did in the year 1853. In 1855 Mr. Cullom was admitted to the bar and shortly after his admission was elected to the office of city attorney of Springfield. He was soon busily engaged in the local courts prosecuting violations of the local ordinances. The majority of his cases grew out of the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors, a decidedly disagreeable class of practice, but a wonderfully fertile field for the study of all phases of human characters.

His first partnership was with Antram Campbell, but this business relation was of short duration. In 1861 he formed a partnership with Milton Hay, one of Illinois' most distinguished lawyers. The firm of Hay & Cullom continued until 1867, and during its existence it enjoyed a lucrative and extensive practice in the State and Federal courts. The mere fact that young Cullom was taken in as the junior member of this firm, by Milton Hay, is all the proof that is necessary to establish the fact that Cullom had talent, energy and integrity. Milton Hay knew men and he would not tolerate for a moment a fraud, a sluggard or a

dullard. Mr. Hay could choose where he pleased and he demanded and drew to him men worth while. Mr. Cullom next formed a partnership with Charles S. Zane, who was elected Circuit Judge shortly before Mr. Cullom became Governor. In 1883 Judge Zane was appointed Chief Justice of the Territory of Utah, Senator Cullom securing his appointment, where he made an enviable record as a fearless and just judge.

As a lawyer Mr. Cullom was energetic, painstaking and devoted to his client. He was not an orator in the ordinary sense of the term. He did not seek to sway the court or jury by high-sounding phases, but preferred rather to know his subject from every angle and then present it with the power of conviction. He was a forceful and convincing speaker, simple and pleasing in expression, appealing always to the heart and the head, but never to the prejudices. He outlived by many years his friends and associates at the Sangamon County Bar.

A partial list of those eminent men with whom he associated includes the following sons of Illinois:

Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Stephen T. Logan, John T. Stuart, Benjamin S. Edwards, John M. Palmer, David Davis, O. H. Browning, Edward D. Baker, Milton Hay, William H. Herndon, Richard Yates. James C. Conkling, Henry S. Green, and John A. McClernand.

To have the esteem and friendship of such a galaxy of legal stars is proof conclusive that Shelby M. Cullom ranked high at the central Illinois bar. Some of those great men were Cullom's political backers in the early days, some of them were for him from city attorney to United States Senator. Some of them were his political opponents and some were defeated by him at the polls.

The legal education and experience of Senator Cullom were of great assistance to him in later years, in executing the great public trusts that were imposed upon him. His intimate association with Milton Hay, John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards taught him to be discreet and cautious, to weigh well his words and acts. From these men he learned the value of sound and matured judgment. It was characteristic of Mr. Cullom, that while he always reserved the privilege of making up his own mind, he was ever ready to accept and profit by the advice of those whom he recognized as men of discretion and sound judgment. He was never swayed by the opinion of the mere lip talker.

It is remarkable that Mr. Cullom gained any particular recognition at the bar, because of his early and active interest in politics. The law is a jealous mistress and political activities soon compelled Mr. Cullom to give up active practice of the law. It was but natural that one possessed of such a bent for politics should so readily take up this most alluring science. In the early days the law was the most convenient stepping stone to political preferment.

When Mr. Cullom was admitted to the bar, in 1855, a great new political party was just coming into existence. The whole country was smouldering, about to blaze up with the fires of civil war. Great constitutional questions were being discussed by the judges and laymen. All eyes were turned toward Illinois. In the United States Senate we had Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant, the champion of States Rights. Young Cullom was not thirty years of age when our whole nation was stirred to its very soul by the debates between Lincoln and Douglas. No

wonder that the young city attorney, fresh from his victory at the polls, so soon after his admission to the bar, should dash into the political arena.

In his book, "Fifty Years of Public Service," Senator Cullom speaks of his entry into politics as follows:

"Having been inducted into the office of City Attorney I was fairly launched upon a political career, exceeding in length of unbroken service that of any other public man in the country's history. In fact, I never accepted but two executive appointments, the first was an unsought appointment by Abraham Lincoln, after he had become the central figure of his time, if not all time, and second, an appointment from President McKinley as chairman of the Hawaiian Commission."

Possibly Shelby M. Cullom may have inherited a taste for politics. His father, Richard N. Cullom, represented Tazewell County in the State Legislature four terms, as a member of the House of Representatives in the Tenth General Assembly, convened at Vandalia, as a member of the Senate in the Twelfth and Thirteenth General Assemblies and as a member of the House of Representatives in the Eighteenth General Assembly, the last three terms being served at Springfield, the new State Capital. The elder Cullom had but scarcely left the legislative halls ere the younger Cullom appeared as Representative from Sangamon County, in the Twentieth General Assembly, having been elected in the fall of 1856 by a local coalition of the American and Republican parties. This same year he was a candidate as a Fillmore elector, but was defeated. He was again elected to the Twenty-second General Assembly in 1860 as a Republican, the same year that Mr. Lincoln was first elected to the Presidency, receiving a larger popular vote in Sangamon County than did Mr. Lincoln. In the Twenty-second General Assembly young Cullom was signally honored by election as speaker of the House, a great honor for a young lawyer but thirty-one years of age.

It was while acting as Speaker, on April 25, 1861, he introduced to the General Assembly, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who appeared to make his famous address in which he urged all his friends to set aside party prejudice and come to the rescue of Mr. Lincoln and preserve the Union. This was one of the great events in Illinois history and Senator Cullom always delighted in telling of the wonderful magic of Senator Douglas's oratory. As an adherent of President Lincoln, Mr. Cullom was none too friendly to Senator Douglas, but when he heard that great patriotic address, all antagonism to the Little Giant of Democracy was swept away forever.

After the session of 1861 Mr. Cullom was a candidate for delegate to the State Constitutional Convention but was defeated. He again suffered defeat in 1862 as a candidate for State Senator. These two defeats, together with his defeat at the primaries for renomination for United States Senator in 1912, were the only defeats he ever suffered at the polls, the early defeat as a Fillmor elector not being a personal defeat. The defeat in 1862, however, was anticipated and Mr. Cullom purposely courted defeat to accomplish a rather shrewd political coup.

Having been elected to the Legislature at the same election when Mr. Lincoln was chosen President, he desired to be a member of Con-

gress during the presidency of Mr. Lincoln. The congressional districts were reapportioned as a result of the census of 1860, and Mr. Cullom as speaker so brought it about that Sangamon County was placed in a Republican Congressional District, and declared himself a candidate for Congress as a Republican for the election to be held in 1862. At the earnest solicitation of Mr. Leonard Swett, however, whom he greatly admired, he yielded the nomination to Mr. Swett, who was defeated. To keep himself in touch with the voters Mr. Cullom ran for the State Senate, although the four counties comprising the Senatorial District were strongly Democratic. By thus keeping himself in line he was able to secure the nomination and was elected to the Thirty-ninth Congress in 1864. He was reelected to Congress from this the Eighth Congressional District in 1866 and again in 1868. Thus he brought about his election to Congress while Mr. Lincoln was President by creating for himself a Congressional district, so Gerrymandered as to give his party sufficient strength to elect its candidate.

It is most interesting to observe that in 1864 Mr. Cullom defeated for Congress John T. Stuart, and in 1868 he defeated Benjamin S. Edwards, both opponents being his law preceptors when he entered the law office of Stuart and Edwards as a student in 1855.

Before Mr. Cullom went to Congress he was appointed by President Lincoln in 1862 on a commission with Governor George S. Boutwell and Hon. Charles A. Dana to go to Cairo and settle claims against the Government for property purchased by commissary officers and quartermasters in the volunteer service. Judge Stephen T. Logan had originally been appointed on this commission but could not serve and Mr. Cullom was appointed as his successor. It was a distinct honor to young Cullom to be appointed to serve with such distinguished gentlemen, and it was a great compliment to one so young, to be selected by the President to succeed so able a man as Judge Logan.

In Congress Mr. Cullom became intimately associated with James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, General John A. Logan, E. B. Washburn, Thaddeus Stevens, James R. Garfield, William B. Allison, S. S. Cox, and many other famous men. Here he formed a great attachment for William B. Allison, a firm friendship that continued all through the long senatorial career of Mr. Allison as United States Senator from Iowa.

Allison and Cullom were the campaign managers for Mr. Blaine when he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-first Congress, and it was generally thought that Mr. Blaine would give Mr. Cullom considerable recognition in the matter of committee assignments. In this respect Mr. Cullom and his friends were doomed to considerable disappointment. Mr. Allison fared but little better.

The attempt of Mr. Cullom to serve a fourth consecutive term in Congress was a failure, as he was defeated for the nomination by Col. Jonathan Merriam. Mr. Merriam, however, was defeated by Col. James C. Robinson, the Democratic candidate. Sangamon County continued to be in a Democratic district from that time until Major James A. Connolly was elected as a Republican in 1894. The result was that Mr. Cullom was the only Republican who could successfully carry

the Congressional district which he so carefully laid out as his own preserves.

After being retired from Congress Mr. Cullom decided to give up politics and enter the business world. Shortly afterwards he became president of the State National Bank at Springfield, Illinois. At this time there was launched a spirited movement to remove the State Capital from Springfield. To combat this movement Sangamon County wanted able men. Accordingly Mr. Cullom was prevailed upon to be a candidate for the Legislature. He was elected and had for colleagues from this district, his old law partner, Milton Hay, and Hon. Alfred Orendorff, a rising young Democrat.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Hay was induced to become a candidate or stay in the race. This was the first campaign in which the voters could cast three votes for a candidate, the system that is known as plumping. Mr. Hay continually complained that Cullom was such a smooth hand at politics that he would get so many plumps that he, Hay, would get badly left. Mr. Hay practically withdrew as a candidate on numerous occasions until finally Governor Richard J. Oglesby, who was a candidate for United States Senator, made such a personal appeal that Mr. Hay consented that his friends might go ahead with the campaign. When Mr. Cullom saw how fearful Mr. Hay was that too many plumps would be cast for him, Cullom, he put forth every effort to get a square deal for his old law partner, and when the votes were counted they were scarcely fifty votes apart.

Mr. Cullom was promptly elected Speaker of the House, and it goes without saying that the State Capital was not removed. This was in the Twenty-eighth General Assembly, 1872-1874. Mr. Cullom was again elected to the Legislature in 1874, serving in the Twenty-ninth General Assembly. At this session of the Legislature he was the caucus candidate of his party for Speaker of the House, but the independents held the balance of power and by forming a combination with the Democrats elected Elijah M. Haines, Speaker. This was the most notoriously do-nothing session of the Legislature in the history of Illinois. Mr. Cullom was offered the election as Speaker if he would form a combination with the Independents, but he spurned the offer.

Having reentered politics Mr. Cullom decided to be a candidate for Governor. He was nominated as the Republican candidate in 1876 after a stubborn contest. It was during this campaign that an attempt was made to connect him with the notorious "Whiskey Ring" scandals, but although every effort was made to involve him and besmirch his reputation, he came through the ordeal unscathed and was elected as Governor.

Governor John L. Beveridge, who succeeded Governor Oglesby when he was elevated to the United States Senate, was the opponent of Mr. Cullom for the Republican nomination. Considerable alleged evidence was dug up to show that Mr. Cullom had been connected with and profited from the notorious "Whiskey Ring" which had operated at Pekin, Illinois, and defrauded the United States Government out of large sums. Mr. Beveridge and his friends made continual threats to expose him but he went serenely on his way and the proof never materialized. After Mr. Cullom was nominated certain affidavits were made

by persons claiming to have positive proof of his connection with the "Whiskey Ring." These affidavits were placed in the hands of Mr. Charles B. Farwell, of Chicago, who laid them before Mr. John W. Bunn, who was then chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and demanded that Mr. Cullom withdraw as a candidate. Mr. Bunn called the State Central Committee together and notified Mr. Cullom to appear before it. Mr. Cullom appeared and when he learned why he was called, it is said that he was almost majestic in his wrath. He denounced his traducers and challenged them to produce their proof. He was so aroused and pugnacious that his warmest friends were fairly astounded at his conduct. The charges were immediately dropped and never again put in their appearance, although Mr. Cullom continued in public life for full thirty years. In the election Mr. Cullom had for an opponent, Lewis Steward, who had the nomination on both the Democratic and Greenback tickets. The fight was stubbornly fought and it was nearly a week after the election before the final returns showed the election of Mr. Cullom. He defeated Mr. Steward by less than seven thousand votes.

In 1880 he was reelected Governor, being the first Governor to succeed himself. At this election he defeated Lyman Trumbull, who had been United States Senator from Illinois when Mr. Cullom was a Congressman.

In 1883 the term of David Davis as United States Senator expired and Governor Cullom was elected to succeed him. Governor Richard J. Oglesby and General Thomas J. Henderson were candidates against Mr. Cullom, but he easily controlled the Republican caucus. The only serious question was as to whether or not as Governor he was eligible to election to the United States Senate. The preparation of the arguments to show that Governor Cullom was eligible to this office was entrusted to two young men, William J. Calhoun and J Otis Humphrey. The right to the office was established to the satisfaction of the Legislature and the decision thus gained by these two young men has ever since been recognized as the law by the United States Senate in similar cases.

Senator Cullom succeeded himself as United States Senator in 1889, 1895, 1901, 1907, serving in all, thirty years. During all this period his colleagues from Illinois were all one termers, that is to say, no one of them was able to succeed himself.

In 1889 Mr. Cullom succeeded himself without opposition. In 1894 it seemed that he would surely be retired, as the Democratic party appeared certain to control the Legislature. Fortunately for Senator Cullom, the Republicans controlled the State Legislature and he was again returned to the Senate, defeating George E. Adams and George R. Davis, both of whom became candidates after it was discovered that the Republicans controlled the Legislature. The reelection in 1901 was secured only after a most spirited contest. The campaign lasted for practically two years. As opponents Senator Cullom had Governor John R. Tanner, who had just served as Governor of the State, Hon. Robert R. Hitt, Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, and Hon. George W. Prince. This was his last great fight under the old system. The struggle was to control the delegates to the State convention, and to nominate and elect friendly members of the Legislature. The friends of Senator Cul-

lom controlled the State convention and it endorsed him for reelection, but failed to nominate Walter Reeves, the Cullom candidate for Governor. But the endorsement did not settle the contest. It went on with renewed vigor until the meeting of the Legislature. When the Legislature convened, the question was still in doubt and it was not until enough members of the Legislature had signed an agreement to vote for Mr. Cullom that his election was finally brought about.

This campaign divided the Republican party in Illinois into the State and Federal crowds and caused so many contests in the various conventions and caucuses that it was one of the principal causes that brought about the adoption of the State-wide primary law. The contest of 1900 and 1901 was bitterly contested to the last ditch because the principal opponent of Senator Cullom was the late John R. Tanner, who had behind him a solid State organization, built while he was Governor, and further, because for many years Governor Tanner had been an ardent supporter of Senator Cullom and in previous campaigns had been his campaign manager.

The new alignment of Cullom forces in this campaign brought prominently to the front as active managers, Hon. J O. Humphrey and Hon. S. H. Bethea, both of whom, afterwards, were appointed as district judges on the Federal Bench. The great probabilities are that Senator Cullom would have retired from the field and yielded to Governor Tanner, but for the insistence of his managers and friends. The Senator did not relish the struggle with Governor Tanner because he appreciated his power as an organizer and knew that he was an adroit and fearless antagonist. In previous years he had had Tanner for his right hand man, now he had to marshal his forces for a veritable death struggle, at least so it turned out to be for Governor Tanner, who did not long survive his defeat.

In 1906 Senator Cullom was compelled to make an entirely new kind of a battle. He was compelled to go before the Republicans of Illinois in an open primary, seeking the preferential vote of his party. This was the first vote of the kind in Illinois. In 1905 the Illinois Legislature passed a primary law providing for an advisory vote on United States Senator. The primary election was to be held in the spring of 1906. The term of Senator Cullom expired on March 3, 1907. It was necessary to start his campaign practically two years before the time for his election by the Legislature. It had been intimated in some quarters that Senator Cullom won the primary election easily. Such an impression is unfair both to the friends of Senator Cullom and Governor Yates, who was his opponent. Senator Cullom probably never fully appreciated the magnitude of this campaign. He had as an opponent a magnetic popular young man, one who had just made a creditable showing as Governor and who was one of the best campaigners in the State. The friends of Governor Yates were numerous and devoted. On the other hand Senator Cullom was past seventy-six years of age, had not been before the people at large for twenty-six years, was in poor health and the general belief was that he would not live out his term if elected. Many thought that he had been honored enough and that it was time to select a young and coming man. To many, Governor Yates was an ideal successor. Further, Governor Yates had the support of the State

organization, a united and powerful body of men who had served under him while he was Governor. In the Republican State convention of 1904 it was Mr. Yates who had brought about the nomination of Governor Deneen. Governor Deneen permitted the friends of Mr. Yates to remain in office and gave Mr. Yates his friendly cooperation. Mr. Yates made his campaign against Senator Cullom on the grounds of Federal interference in State affairs. The friends of Senator Cullom very neatly turned the tables on Mr. Yates by replying that Mr. Yates was espousing the doctrine of States Rights, that he had forsaken the true doctrines of the Republican Party and had gone back to an old Democratic doctrine, antedating the Civil War. Of course, this was nothing but campaign talk, but it put Mr. Yates at once on the defensive and it subjected him to no little embarrassment to be continually called upon to prove his loyalty to the Federal Government. He conducted a whirlwind campaign, speaking in every county, attracting as usual good crowds and receiving most favorable press comments. Again Senator Cullom was fortunate in his campaign managers. Down State his principal lieutenants were former Lieutenant Governor William A. Northcott, Charles P. Hitch, John C. Ames, Corbus Gardner, and Colonel Frank L. Smith. In Chicago he relied principally upon Mayor Fred A. Busse and Senator D. A. Campbell. The plan of campaign, however, that really won the day was laid out and engineered by Mr. Northcott, who, as a popular organizer and vote getter, had few, if any, equals in this State. The primary law provided for a form of petition for the candidate. A Cullom petition was circulated in every township and city ward in the State. When completed this petition contained practically 130,000 names, the greatest petition ever filed in this State. The circulating of this petition required the organizing of a good sized army and aroused enthusiasm all over the State. Then an executive committee of five was organized in each county, and in turn an executive committee of five in each ward and township. When completed this constituted an organization of practically 20,000 active Republicans. By means of these committeemen, names and addresses were secured until the Cullom mailing list comprised about 150,000 names. A literary bureau was organized that kept all these Republicans supplied with up-to-date literature and press items. While Governor Yates was making great headway with his fiery speeches, Senator Cullom was making quiet but certain progress through his ever-strengthening organization. The primary election was to have been held on the last Saturday in April, 1906, and everything was keyed up for action when the Supreme Court declared the primary law unconstitutional.

The Legislature was called together, and on May 23, 1906, a new law was passed, in force July 1, following. By this new law the primary election was fixed for August 4. The suspense while the new law was being passed was fearful, and it was only by heroic efforts that the Cullom organization was not going again. At the primary Senator Cullom received 158,732 votes and Governor Yates, 113,171. This popular vote was so decisive that Governor Yates promptly and honorably withdrew as a candidate, when the Legislature convened, and Senator Cullom was reelected for the fifth and last time. This popular endorsement was a great tribute to one who had been so long in public

office and was no discredit to Governor Yates, but Governor Yates would have handily won if Senator Cullom had not, as usual, had lieutenants on the ground who could fight in his behalf the right kind of a fight at the right time. In this primary fight Senator Cullom was supported and returned to office by the sons and grandsons of those who had been his loyal supporters in previous generations. In this connection it is worth noting that when the joint assembly met to elect Senator Cullom for the fifth and last time, he was placed in nomination by Hon. Logan Hay, Senator from Sangamon County, son of Milton Hay, the old law partner and counselor of the Senator, and grandson of Stephen T. Logan, the acknowledged leader of the Illinois bar when Mr. Cullom commenced the practice of the law.

It was while Senator Cullom was serving his last term in the Senate that he was called upon to face the greatest crisis of his career, the casting of his vote in the contest that was waged against his colleague Senator William Lorimer of Chicago. No attempt will be made in this memorial to explain away or apologize for the vote of Senator Cullom, but rather a conscientious effort will be made to give the situation as it was, and then state his views as nearly as they can be gathered from his conduct and what he told his friends.

When Senator Cullom entered upon his last term he had for a colleague Hon. Albert J. Hopkins whose term expired March 3, 1909. Senator Hopkins had been a candidate in the Republican primary having as opponents William E. Mason and George Edmond Foss. Senator Hopkins received the plurality party vote and it was supposed that the joint session of the Legislature would elect him, as it had in the previous election of Senator Cullom. When the Legislature met, Mr. Foss and Mr. Mason continued to be candidates, and many members of the Legislature, contending that they should follow the preferential vote in their respective districts and not that of the State at large, refused to vote for Mr. Hopkins and a deadlock ensued lasting from January, 1909, until May following. From March 3, to May 26th the seat of Senator Hopkins was vacant and Senator Cullom was the sole Senator from Illinois. On May 26th, fifty-five Republicans and fifty-three Democrats suddenly voted for William Lorimer, who had not previously been a candidate, and Mr. Lorimer was declared elected to succeed Senator Hopkins and forthwith took his seat in the United States Senate.

Nearly a year later on April 30, 1910, the Chicago Tribune published a confession of one Charles A. White to the effect that he and several other Democrats, members of the Illinois Legislature had been bribed to vote for Senator Lorimer. A resolution to investigate the election of Senator Lorimer was introduced in the United States Senate, and the committee on elections and privileges conducted extensive hearings for several months. The Chicago Tribune kept thundering away demanding that Mr. Lorimer's seat be declared vacant because of corruption at his election. The case became notorious and resulted in a terrific exposure of political conditions and practices in Illinois. Several other members of the Legislature confessed to having been bribed and testified against their colleagues only to be denounced and repudiated by their fellow legislators and part of the press. Finally the Senate com-

mittee on elections reported to sustain Mr. Lorimer. The case was debated in the Senate from January 22 to February 28, 1911, and on March 1 by a vote of 46 to 40 the Senate permitted Mr. Lorimer to retain his seat. During all this turmoil Senator Cullom had refused to indicate how he would vote, but when the question finally came to a vote he voted for Mr. Lorimer. He gave as the ostensible reason for his vote that the evidence did not satisfy him that Mr. Lorimer had any personal knowledge that his election was corrupt, and further that the committee on elections having seen and heard the witnesses and having reported in favor of Mr. Lorimer, he felt it his duty to give his colleague the benefit of the doubt and follow the recommendations of the committete. By thus voting, Senator Cullom lost thousands of his friends, as he knew he would, but the people of this State were charitable and his conduct was quietly accepted without questioning his motive and integrity.

Now let us endeavor to analyze the situation as it appeared to Senator Cullom.

At the time he was called upon to cast his vote he was past eighty-one years of age. For months he had been importuned by his friends to vote both for and against Mr. Lorimer. Most of his old friends and colleagues in the Senate, whose judgment he most highly prized were friendly to Mr. Lorimer. Some of the men in the Senate who were most vigorously denouncing Mr. Lorimer were of the class that he was wont to regard as flamboyant and unmindful of the prerogatives and dignity of the Senate. To fall in line with these was most distasteful to him. He was loath to vote contrary to the findings of the committee on elections, because in his day, in the Senate, the report of a committee was of the greatest weight and not to be turned down except for the gravest reasons. The Senate was largely controlled by its committees, and to this system Senator Cullom had for years yielded steadfast allegiance. He had risen to his position of influence by committee appointment and service, and when his party controlled the machinery of the Senate, he considered a committee report almost controlling. The thunderings of the Chicago Tribune and its followers fairly disgusted him. He had long since rebelled at the modern method of so-called newspaper muckraking, and was fearful that the powerful metropolitan press was becoming a dictator and instead of molding public sentiment by a fearless and impartial publishing of the news of the day, was becoming so powerful that it could combine and astracize public officials who would not yield to the dictations of the press. If he voted against Mr. Lorimer he considered that it would be a public confession on his part that his State Legislature was corrupt, thereby casting suspicion upon many of his old friends and supporters. He was too old to grasp the changed conditions. He had heretofore dealt with men as individuals and not in masses. He thought that the popular wave against Mr. Lorimer would soon die out. He believed that the public had a short memory and would forget but that the organization of Mr. Lorimer had a long memory and would never forget. He could not bring himself to accept the testimony of self confessed bribe takers and affidavit makers. He could not erase from his memory the recollection of the men who had made affidavits and offered evidence against him in the days of the old "Whiskey Ring" scandals. If he voted against Mr. Lorimer he believed that it would be

claimed that he was dictated to by the press, that he would appear weak and subservient and that he would be charged with trying to ride a popular wave for his personal advancement. He knew that the popular thing to do was to vote against Mr. Lorimer. He questioned the sincerity of the attack on Lorimer and thought that if he were unseated, it would simply strengthen the opponents of Mr. Lorimer, who in turn would advance themselves without the least consideration for him, Cullom, so he contented himself with saying, that as a judge the evidence did not convince him of the personal guilt of Mr. Lorimer and he would follow the recommendations of the committee on elections. At last we find the man, who for sixty years had read the sentiments of the people of the State of Illinois as an open book, failing to grasp the new conditions, unable to keep step with the new order of the day.

The vote seating Mr. Lorimer did not settle the question. The people did not and would not forget. Alleged new evidence was discovered and on June 1, 1911, the United States Senate reopened the investigation, the new evidence was heard and the hearings continued for another year. Finally on July 13, 1912, the question was again brought to a vote, in the senate and by a vote of 55 to 28 Mr. Lorimer was unseated. This time Senator Cullom voted against Mr. Lorimer, giving as his reason that the new evidence produced had changed his views.

While the Lorimer investigation was at its height, the term of Senator Cullom was fast drawing to a close. If he was to be a candidate again he must submit his name to the primary in the spring of 1912. He decided to be a candidate again and his friends once more rallied to his cause. He had as opponents Hon. Lawrence Y. Sherman, former Lieutenant Governor, and Hon. Hugh S. Magill, a young man of progressive tendencies, who had made a fine clean record as State Senator.

At the primaries on April 9, 1912, Mr. Sherman defeated Senator Cullom by about 60,000 votes and Senator Cullom in turn defeated Mr. Magill by about 40,000 votes. Senator Cullom accepted his defeat gracefully. It was in the following July that he cast his vote against Mr. Lorimer. After his defeat Senator Cullom stated that he had entered the race reluctantly and only after the urgent solicitation of his friends. Just why he made the race again for a six year term when he was on the verge of being eighty-three years of age can not be stated to an absolute certainty. No doubt many of his friends did urge him to run again, but the truth probably is that he thought his old organization could again carry the day and he could not give up an ambition which had become almost an obsession, to die in the harness as United States Senator from the State of Illinois. Many of his friends realized the futility of this last race and on several occasions some of them went to Washington for the purpose of advising him not to make the race and to throw his influence to some strong young man, one of his followers, but whenever they undertook to broach the subject the Senator in his inimitable way would deftly turn the conversation and no one could ever be found who could successfully face the aged statesman and deliver an ultimatum. During the entire campaign the Senator continually complained against being dragged into the fight at his advanced age, but his friends bravely went ahead with the campaign knowing all the time

that they were doing as he wished. Both Mr. Sherman and Mr. Magill made state-wide speaking campaigns, while Senator Cullom remained at Washington, and it is to the everlasting credit of both of these gentlemen that during the entire campaign neither one of them said an unkind or harsh thing against the aged man.

In the fall election of 1912 the Republican State and National tickets were defeated so that Mr. Cullom, who did not retire until March 3, 1913, remained in office some months after the Republican State officers were retired. The Republicans did not control the General Assembly so Mr. Sherman did not succeed Senator Cullom, but after an extended deadlock Mr. Sherman was elected to fill out the unexpired term of Mr. Lorimer and Hon. James Hamilton Lewis was elected for the full term of six years to succeed Senator Cullom. After serving thirty years consecutively as United States Senator from Illinois, Mr. Cullom was finally succeeded by a Democrat.

In addition to keeping his own fences in good repair, Senator Cullom and his followers were always in line for the Republican ticket, and no campaign was waged in Illinois during the last half century in which Senator Cullom did not have a distinct part. He always attended the party conventions and his lieutenants were always prominent in the councils of the party. In 1872 Mr. Cullom was chairman of the Illinois delegation to the National Republican convention and had the honor of placing in nomination for the Presidency General U. S. Grant. Again in 1884, 1892, 1904, and 1908, he was a delegate and chairman of the Illinois delegations to the Republican national conventions. Thus is detailed the principal political activities of Shelby M. Cullom.

For length of service and variety of honors achieved, his political record has no equal in the history of our country.

His political successes were contemporaneous with the successes of his party, nay even more, he frequently enjoyed the fruits of victory when his party was in the throes of defeat.

His espousal of the Republican party at its inception was accompanied by election to office. He continued to share in all the triumphs of his party and did not succumb until his great party had received its most crushing defeat, when its forces were divided by the creation of a new party. He came on the scene at the birth of a new party. He left the stage at the birth of a new party.

In fullness of years he spanned more than two-thirds of the life of our nation. He knew intimately every President from Lincoln to Wilson, one-half of all our Presidents. For more than half a century he knew personally every man who reached any prominence in the councils of our nation.

He was a practical politician. He knew the value of patronage and secured appointments for men who counted. He was loyal to his friends and his friends reciprocated by delivering full measure in his behalf. He played the game according to the rules. No doubt he did many things which were most distasteful to him, many things which he preferred not to do, but he had put his hand to the plow and was determined to plow a straight furrow to the end. His political life was one continual battle. He stood ever ready to fight his enemies and was compelled to be ever on guard against faithless friends. He saw New England States select

worthy Senators and then return them term after term, without a struggle, until by length of service they reached positions of influence and power. No such honor was accorded to him. No matter what honors he achieved, no matter what great laws he got upon our Statute books, he came from a western state and must ever stand ready to fight for his election. While he was at his post of duty his opponents were always busy out in the State undermining him and continually seeking to compass his defeat. His early political training was secured in the school founded by Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was the master politician of our Republic. Cullom knew, as did Lincoln, that to do things for the State and the nation, it was necessary, first, to get and then to hold the office. To get and to hold public office, one must get votes. To get votes one must be a politician and a practical one at that. Our form of government is republican. The citizen at the ballot box is the sovereign. Under our system of government the public office holder and public servant must first secure the consent of the sovereign people at the polls. Shelby M. Cullom offered himself repeatedly and the people as repeatedly gave him the necessary votes. If he would be a statesman he must first be a politician. This he knew and this he freely acknowledged.

Although poor in this world's goods he forged steadily ahead, ever ascending, always respected, clean in personal and public life, the acme of political success and perfection. Not only was he content to remain a man of limited means, but so constituted was he, that the many opportunities that came to him to acquire wealth did not tempt him in the least nor for an instant absorb his time or attention to the detriment of his public service.

To read the long list of his political successes naturally gives rise to the question as to whether or not he stood for things that were for the real and lasting benefit of the people, or to hold office did he shift with each changing popular whim? Was he a politician simply to be a timeserving officeholder, or did he, after he got the office, use it to give the people real service, service that would make our country better in the years to come, service that would make our people freer and happier? Will he be known to history as America's most unique and successful politician, or will he go down in history as a real statesman?

Let us take a brief survey of the things he accomplished, and possibly we may find the answer in the things done rather than in the words spoken.

In his first elective office, that of city attorney of Springfield, he so favorably impressed such men as Mr. Lincoln, Judge Logan and others that they gave him their support for the Legislature. He so conducted himself as a member of the Legislature during his first term, that although scarcely thirty years of age he was selected Speaker of the House, for his second term, in 1861. Mr. Cullom himself is authority for the statement that he made more friends in the conduct of the office of Speaker than were ever made by him subsequently in any office or service. His conduct as Speaker of the House gave him such standing that he was sent to Congress for three successive terms. In these campaigns many of his most ardent supporters were men who were opposed to him politically but who supported him because of their faith in him.

He served in Congress during the days of reconstruction, days that were fraught with the greatest peril to our reunited nation. He supported the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. He witnessed the struggle between Congress and President Johnson with fearful forebodings. Together with Judge Orth of Indiana, he went in person to plead with the President to conciliate Congress and avoid the dangers of impeachment, but found the President obdurate and self-willed. He saw the crisis approaching and counseled earnestly with his friends, Senator Lyman Trumbull, James G. Blaine, and others, and upon their advice finally decided to vote for the impeachment of President Johnson. Imagine his surprise when Senator Trumbull denounced the impeachment proceedings in the Senate and voted to sustain the President.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. Blaine cavalierly gave Mr. Cullom the choice of the chairmanship of the committee on claims or territories. He chose the committee on territories and while serving in this capacity he introduced and secured the passage of a bill in the House providing stringent measures for the suppression of polygamy. He was so intent on stamping out this great evil that subsequently he secured from President Arthur the appointment of his old law partner, Charles Zane, as Chief Justice of Utah; and it was the fearless and masterly way in which Judge Zane handled the situation that did so much to destroy the "twin relic of Barbarism." Thus Mr. Cullom in his practical way accomplished his desire by sending directly to the seat of the difficulty a man, ready, willing and able to enforce the law as it was written.

After retiring from Congress this lawyer-politician became president of the State National Bank in Springfield. This was certainly a distinct recognition of his integrity and standing with the business interests of his home city.

Soon we find him again in the Legislature and Speaker of the House. It was while serving in the State Legislature after returning from Congress that Mr. Cullom seemed to get a new inspiration to serve his State and Nation in a bigger and broader way. Illinois had adopted a new Constitution in 1870 and it was while Mr. Cullom was Speaker in 1873 and 1874 that a complete revision of the State laws was undertaken, resulting in the publishing of the "Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois, A. D. 1874." The early 70's witnessed the so-called "Granger Legislation" and the construction of State laws for the control of railroad transportation. Illinois at that time was in the forefront in railroad mileage, and naturally the wave of popular sentiment demanding State control and regulation swept over this State. In 1871 our Legislature passed a law on the subject of railroad regulation but it was rather ineffective.

Speaker Cullom saw the great possibilities in the wise solution of this great question and seized the opportunity to make this the ambition of his life. He appointed a select committee of the Legislature to draft amendments to the law. In the work of this committee he took the most intense interest. The committee reported a bill which was passed and became the Illinois law on the subject of railroad and warehouses, an advanced and highly meritorious law, a law that remained practically

unchanged until the Railroad and Warehouse Commission was absorbed by the State Utilities Commission in 1914.

After Mr. Cullom became Governor in 1877 he appointed a new and strong Railroad and Warehouse Commission, which immediately went to work under his supervision to carry out, enforce and test the workings of the law.

It was the study of this question of railroad regulation and the practical experience in the enforcement of such a law, while he was in the Legislature and as Governor, that prepared Mr. Cullom for the great work that was to come. In this connection it is interesting to note what influences surrounded the Governor, influences of his own choosing, and how he proceeded to accomplish the ends he desired.

Above all he was wise in the counsels he sought. He had for a private secretary Mr. E. F. Leonard, a well poised, polished gentleman but a few years his junior. Mr. Leonard was more than a secretary; he was a friend and counselor, one who was willing to stay in the background; but who gave lavishly of his many talents to the sustaining and guiding of his superior. Mr. Leonard was ever on guard and by reason of his matured judgment was privileged to press his convictions upon the Governor. It is claimed by those in a position to know that to Mr. Leonard is due a large share of the credit for the attitude Governor Cullom took towards the railroads. Contrary to his usual conservatism Governor Cullom appeared somewhat carried away with the popular cry against the railroads and seemed in danger of being too radical. The instinct of the politician to please his constituents was strong, but Mr. Leonard was the brake on the wheel and his calm judgment kept the Governor in check, caused him to make haste slowly. But for this deterring influence, radical and possibly illy advised steps might have been taken, that would have forestalled the accomplishment of the great success in coming years.

As chief legal advisor, Governor Cullom leaned largely upon Milton Hay. When in doubt about a law or legal procedure it was the judgment of Mr. Hay that controlled. A prominent Chicago lawyer, once seeking the support of Governor Cullom for a proposed law, was heard to ask repeatedly, "Who is the Governor of the State—Hay or Cullom?"

In the background was John W. Bunn, who at that time was prominent in Illinois politics, serving repeatedly as chairman and member of the Republican State Central Committee. In shaping the policies of the administration it was the function of Mr. Bunn to sound out and find the sentiment of the influences of the State. Governor Cullom was big enough and broad enough to rely upon the combined judgment of Messrs. Leonard, Hay and Bunn, three eminently successful business men, of unquestioned integrity and devoted to his interests. A most interesting illustration of how Mr. Cullom relied upon these three friends is shown in the great sound money speech that Governor Cullom made at Rockford, Illinois. In the seventies one of the catchy new isms of the day was the "Greenback" craze. Mr. Cullom had shown some temerity in facing this question. In those days it took real courage to come out firmly for sound, honest money. Governor Cullom received an invitation to speak on this issue at Rockford, but hesitated to accept. He was fearful of the results and hated to declare himself. Mr. Leonard insisted

that he make the address and take a positive stand. Finally the Governor consented to accept the invitation on condition that Mr. Leonard would write the speech. Mr. Leonard prepared the addresses and it was gone over line by line, sentence by sentence with Mr. Hay and Mr. Bunn. It was an address to the point, without dodging or begging the question; it was for sound, honest money first, last and all the time. The three friends were fearful that the Governor would not have the courage to deliver it. On the appointed day the Governor gave the address exactly as written. It rang out all over the country and was copied in New York and hailed with delight by the opponents of the "Greenback" craze. Thus did Governor Cullom array himself on the side of sound money and he did not waver from this position during the balance of his days. It is but fair to Mr. Leonard, who is still living an honored and retired life at Amherst, Massachusetts, to state that he is not authority for what has just been said about him and has not been consulted about thus giving him such a share in the administration of Governor Cullom.

Governor Cullom had served as Governor but six months when the great railway strikes were declared in July, 1877. Instantly traffic ceased and disorder and destruction of property was imminent. One of the worst conditions was at East St. Louis. To this city the Governor went in person and tried to relieve the situation by moral suasion, but failed. Seeing that it was futile to temporize he called out the State troops and soon had the situation in hand. In Chicago he found the State troops practically worthless, so he promptly called upon the National Government for aid. Upon the arrival of several companies of regulars, order was at once restored. Thus we see how he met one of the most trying situations that can ever confront a Governor.

When it came to considering applications for pardons, he instituted the practice of publishing in the county where the trial occurred, a notice of the application, and also required written statements of the trial judge and State's attorney giving their views of the merits of the case. This practice has since been extended by the creation of a State Board of Pardons, which follows largely the same procedure.

His administration was strictly a business one. Under his supervision the penitentiary was built at Chester and an additional hospital for the insane was constructed at Kankakee. His administration also saw the paying off of the last of the State debt.

He studied the State and its peoples. He became familiar with the great families and their descendants who settled the various parts of the State. He was able to select representative men who stood well in their localities. Having appointed such representative men to office, he left them free from executive interference, but held them strictly accountable for the trust imposed. Thus he drew to him strong, able men and these men of affairs and their descendants became the strength and backbone of the so-called Cullom organization that was so effective in Illinois for so many years. His administration was rather uneventful but eminently successful. He was never embarrassed by any unseemly scandals in any of his departments.

His relations with the Legislature were most friendly, and the charge was never made that he, as Governor, ever tried to organize or dictate to the Legislature; and yet, it can be safely said, that no Legis-

lature convened during his administration that was not organized by his friends and on a basis entirely friendly to him. So skillful was he in handling men and so versed was he in legislative practices, that he brought about a friendly organization without his influence being felt or suspected.

When Governor Cullom became United States Senator he had already acquired considerable prestige as a national character. Having served several terms in his State Legislature and in Congress and having been twice Governor of Illinois, he expected some recognition in the Senate, compatible with his services. He found, however, like all new Senators, he must bide his time and that he could command attention only by meritorious service. The caucus of the Senate assigned him to the committee on railroads, a purely ornamental committee, having practically no excuse for existence other than to furnish a chairmanship for one of the majority. Then occurred one of those incidents so rare and remarkable but such a source of delight to all students of legislative bodies and procedure; this new Senator by the magic of his genius, took this insignificant appointment, this purely honorary position, and elevated it and clothed it with power and dignity until in a brief space of time, before he had completed his first term as Senator, he reported from the committee and had passed through the Senate the Interstate Commerce Act, now generally admitted to be the most constructive economic act ever passed by Congress. The passage of this act was the culmination of the years of struggle and toil, out in Illinois, struggling with the great question of railroad regulation commencing, as Speaker of the House in 1873.

The great principles underlying the act are now recognized by everyone as self evident; but at the time of its passage it was considered by many most able men to be radical and dangerous.

When Senator Cullom reported this bill from his committee on railroads, it created but little stir. It was regarded as a new legislative wrinkle that would give its author some notoriety but not worthy of very serious consideration. The great conservative, deliberative Senate surely would not pass such a measure, striking such a terrific blow at the greatest of all vested interests, the American Railway System. Nothing daunted, Senator Cullom secured the appointment of a committee to investigate the question throughout the country. He of course was chairman of this committee and after taking evidence, prepared the committee's report to the Senate, favoring the bill. Then the battle began, then the special interests all rallied to the defense of the railroads, but to no avail. The campaign had been planned by a master mind, one skilled in the ways of legislative bodies. At last the bill was attacked most fiercely on that ground upon which all great remedial and constructive measures are fought, the ground that it was unconstitutional. Many of the ablest and strongest lawyers in the Senate opposed the bill on this ground, when almost providentially, at the very height of the battle, the United States Supreme Court on October 25, 1886, decided the very question at issue, in the case of Wabash Railway Company v. Illinois, reported in 118 U. S., 557. What a remarkable coincidence! That this case which decided the law in favor of the constitutionality of the Interstate Commerce Act, should be appealed from

the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois and should involve the interpretation of one of the railroad regulating acts, passed when Mr. Cullom was Speaker of the House of Representatives, in 1873. In this case the National Supreme Court held that commerce among the states could be regulated by Congress alone and that the states must keep hands off of such commerce even for that portion of the haul within the State boundaries. With the law thus settled the opposition to the act became purely and simply, the vested interest against the general welfare, and the latter won the day. To Shelby M. Cullom and to him alone belong the honor and glory of this accomplishment. No one but a strong man could have taken a position on a most insignificant committee and from the humble position attack so powerful a special interest and defeat it in its very citadel. No one but a genius in legislative procedure could have successfully piloted his way to victory with such a momentous issue, during his first term in the United States Senate. No one but a man of courage would have attempted such a thing, when he knew so well the powers that must be overcome. No one but a man of patience, perseverance and indomitable stick-to-it-tiveness could have trod the long toilsome, tortuous road that lead to victory.

Time does not permit a discussion of this law. Suffice it to say that this law reinforced by amendments and administratton now governs in justice two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railway. The law was attacked in the courts and gradually the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were curtailed, by judicial construction, but each judicial decision pointed out the necessary remedy; and Senator Cullom was fortunate to remain in the United States Senate to maintain and defend this great act until finally, before his death, he saw the law interpreted, amended and clarified until all doubts were swept aside and the law now stands supreme, a complete and unassailable act.

It took more than a generation to accomplish this result. This illustrates a great charactetristic of the man. He eked out for the people their rights an inch at a time. He got what he could at the start and then added to it little by little, until the people and the railroads were educated up to accepting the completed work. The passage of this one act, the living and defending it until it was impregnable, is honor enough for one man; but the passing and enforcing of the act did more than remedy the mere evils aimed at; it opened a vast field of legislative endeavor. It was the first real exercise by Congress of the power to regulate interstate commerce.

Immediately upon the passage of the act the Senate created the Committee on Inter State Commerce and placed Senator Cullom in the chairmanship. This committee at once took rank as and still is one of the greatest committees of the Senate. As chairman of this committee Senator Cullom introduced and had passed through the Senate another great act, this one a remedial, a humane law, the safety appliance law of 1893. This law required inter state railroads to equip their cars with automatic couplers and operate their trains with air brakes connected with the engines. We hear much today of social justice, of legislation to protect the life and limb of the laboring man; and these and kindred subjects are treated as modern and progressive ideas; and yet more than twenty years ago, Senator Cullom secured the passage

and enforcement of an act that has saved untold numbers of lives and limbs.

The mere fact that such an act, requiring such an enormous expenditure for equipment, could be introduced without unfavorable comment is a testimonial to the standing of Senator Cullom. Rare it is, that such a bill can ever be introduced in any legislative body without the charge that it was introduced as a sandbag and to hold up the corporations.

The principal energies of Senator Cullom for forty years were along the lines of corporate regulations; yet during all that period the charge was never made that he was not sincere or that he was seeking personal gain.

On the heels of the safety appliance act came the act regulating the hours of employment of employees engaged in interstate traffic, the employer's liability act making interstate carriers liable for injury or death of employees, all relating to the regulation of interstate railroads.

A partial list of the great laws following the Interstate Commerce Act and based upon the same power which this act invoked, includes the following: The Anti-Trust Act, the Anti-Rebating Act, The Act to Suppress Lotteries, The Food and Drugs Act, and the White Slave Act. Numerous other acts could be mentioned. All of these acts based solely on the power to regulate commerce among the states are constructive and progressive. They give extensive powers to our National Government and relate to the industrial and moral freedom and welfare of our people. They give to the General Government the powers necessary to cope with these great questions with which the individual states are unable to deal.

Senator Cullom remained as chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce until 1901, when he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the most distinguished committee of the Senate, remaining however as the ranking member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He was prouder of his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations than any public service he ever performed. The position was highly dignified and the committee composed of Senators of the highest standards and ideals. To this committee come for consideration our relations with foreign nations and all treaties entered into by the President. This committee always stands in a highly confidential relation to the administration. A partial list of chairmen preceding Senator Cullom contains the following names: Barbour of Virginia, Henry Clay, James Buchanan, Rives, Benton, Cass, King, Sumner, Hannibal Hamlin, Windom, John Sherman and Cushman K. Davis.

At one time while Senator Cullom was chairman of the Senate committee, Hon. Robert R. Hitt, his old schoolmate, was chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, and John Hay was Secretary of State . Thus we find three distinguished sons of Illinois intimately associated in this great branch of Governmental service.

It was while Senator Cullom was chairman of this committee, serving in connection with the Secretaries of State, John Hay and Elihu Root, that the diplomatic service of the United States was reorganized and a distinct and new type of American diplomacy was instituted. The reorganization completely changed the personnel of our foreign diplomatic

corps by attracting to the service and appointing trained men who were given an opportunity to rise in the service by demonstrating their merit and capacity to serve. The new type of diplomacy had for its watchwords "frankness" and the "square deal"—the kind of square deal that is illustrated by our paying to Spain $20,000,000 for the Philippines, when we were able to take the islands without compensation as spoils of war.

Time will not permit any detailed account of the numerous and important treaties handled by Senator Cullom.

Suffice it to say that he was most diligent and succeeded in securing the ratification of more treaties than was ever secured in an equal length of time.

As chairman of this committee he earnestly supported and had much to do with securing the ratification of the treaty with Panama, making possible the building of the Panama Canal, thus closely connecting his name with the greatest engineering feat of the ages. In this service he became greatly attached to Elihu Root, first, as Secretary of State and then as Senator from New York, and frequently expressed his desire to see Mr. Root President of the United States.

Senator Cullom also served as the third ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations and was chairman of the sub-committee having in charge the legislative, executive and judicial bill, in which capacity he had charge of appropriations amounting to about thirty millions of dollars annually.

Early in his service as Senator he was chosen as one of the board of regents of the Smithsonian Institution, a great national institution located in Washington for the diffusion of knowledge among men. Over this board the Chief Justice of the United States presides. Mr. Cullom enjoyed the honor of this appointment at the hands of the Senate for more than twenty-five years.

At last, by virtue of his long years of service, he became the chairman of the Senate Committee on Committees. To this committee is given the power of making the assignment of the various senators to the Senate committees. This appointment gave him great distinction and much authority over the organization of the party machinery of the Senate.

Aside from his service on these great Senate committees Senator Cullom was greatly honored by appointment by President McKinley as Chairman of the Commission to visit the Hawaiian Islands which had then just been acquired. The other members of the Commission were Senator Morgan of Alabama, and Hon. Robert R. Hitt, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Commission visited the Islands for the purpose of framing a law providing for their civil government and defining their relation to the United States. Senator Cullom was in charge of the bill recommended by the Commission, which was enacted and stands as the organic law of these Islands today.

In the foreign diplomatic service there are today many men who received their appointments by the personal endorsement and solicitation of Senator Cullom. So it comes about that, by reason of the many treaties ratified during his service and the appointment of his friends abroad, his influence is still felt across the seas.

There is still one other field in which he left his impress. He had a large part in the passage of the act creating the Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court of the United States had become so congested that it was several years behind with its work. Several remedies were suggested. Senator Cullom favored the creation of intermediate courts modeled largely after the Appellate Court system in Illinois and this plan was adopted. Now we have some nine Circuit Courts of Appeal hearing hundreds of appealed cases annually and greatly relieving the Supreme Court. Here the Senator left his impress, in the field of his chosen profession.

The last activities of Senator Cullom were in connection with the building of a great Memorial to President Lincoln. The erecting of this testimonial of a grateful people had been his fondest hope for several years. His love for the martyred President grew with the years. As he advanced in years, like all aged men, he harked back to the early days, the days of youth, of energy, of ambition. As he looked back in retrospection, the giant form of the Emancipator grew larger and more majestic, until the ideal of his youth became the realization of the ages. Seator Cullom was the last remaining link, in public life, connecting the present day directly with that interval of time when the martyred President preserved inviolate the Union of our forefathers. The boy, Shelby, when but twelve years of age, had met Mr. Lincoln as a guest at his father's house. As he grew to manhood his ambition to study law was inspired by the tales of Lincoln and his fellow circuit riding lawyers. When he started to study law he sought admission to Mr. Lincoln's law office. Subsequently he became a member of the law firm to which Mr. Lincoln had belonged. He tried law suits with Mr. Lincoln. In his first political campaigns, those for city attorney and member of the Legislature, he had the support of Mr. Lincoln. He sat at the feet of Lincoln and heard him deliver the famous "House Divided Against Itself" speech. He received appointment at the hands of Mr. Lincoln and during his presidency made trips to Washington, where he had the privilege of easy access to the White House. In order that he might go to Washington and serve in Congress and thus support and defend the administration, he carved out of the Illinois prairies a district for himself. For decades after Mr. Lincoln and his associates had passed from the scenes, Shelby M. Cullom stood forth strong in the councils of his nation, pointed out as one who not only had seen and met Lincoln, but as one who had enjoyed his friendship and merited his support and confidence.

In his last years in the Senate, Senator Cullom secured an appropriation amounting to two million dollars to erect the National Lincoln Memorial. A fitting location and a magnificent design for the monument were chosen. March 3, 1913, arrived and found this work unfinished and Shelby M. Cullom about to retire to private life. Without his knowledge and entirely unsolicited the colleagues of Senator Cullom made him the resident Commissioner to supervise the building of the memorial. Not only was he appointed as resident Commissioner without his knowledge or solicitation, but not one single member of the Senate or the House voted against his appointment or raised any objections to

it, one of the greatest tributes ever paid him. In this capacity he served until his death.

And so we find him to the last engaged in a great public service, a labor of love and devotion. What a wonderful record of things well done! What a magnificent part he played in the history of his Nation! For sixty years he stood in the limelight of public scrutiny with unsullied name and reputation. His hands were clean. His life was beyond reproach. No one can fairly read the record of noble things done and ever sneeringly refer to him as a timeserving politician, a chronic office seeker, without hanging his head in shame. We can read his record at the bar; we can marvel at his success as a politician; we can hear tales of how he halted and hesitated, trimmed his sails, temporized, played the ordinary political tricks, tramped from department to department seeking appointments for his followers; but when we read the record of the things well done, of how he stamped his impress upon our Nation's history, all the doubts, fogs and mists vanish forever; and we see his personality standing forth in the bright light; we see nothing but an erect, gaunt, kindly disposed, patient, plodding, modest man among men, a noble and practical type of American statesman.

Now we see why he played the game as he did. He had his ideals and ambitions. He would do big and lasting things. He knew the American people and he knew that political success was the science of second bests. He knew that the ideal could not be reached in one leap. He so ordered his ways that he could progress step by step, keeping constantly in touch with his fellowman, but never too far in advance. As has been aptly said, "He marched in the procession but always saw a day's journey ahead."

Let us not intrude upon the sacred inner circle of his family life. Suffice it to say that his home life was ideal but in his family relations he was a man of many sorrows. His whole immediate family, two wives and four children preceded him to the grave. He left two granddaughters as his only direct decendants. He left no male child to perpetuate his name.

From Washington his remains were brought to Springfield, Illinois, for interment. On Sunday, February 1, 1914, funeral exercises were held in Representatives Hall in the State Capitol, to which the public was admitted. In this legislative hall in which he had been five times elected to the United States Senate, beautiful and impressive services were held. Here former United States Senators and Governors, members of Congress, eminent Jurists and lawyers, representatives of strong business interests from all parts of the State, friends and neighbors, the distinguished and the humble reverently paid their last respects to the memory of this man who had so long and faithfully represented the State. Looking down upon his remains were the portraits of Lincoln and Douglas, the two great sons of Illinois, both friends and associates of the deceased, who had preceded him to the grave beyond a half century ago. Fitting addresses were delivered by Governor Edward F. Dunne, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, Dr. Donald McLeod, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and Hon. Clinton L. Conkling of the Sangamon County Bar.

Memorial exercises were held in the Sangamon County Circuit Court, Judge James A. Creighton presiding. The Sangamon County Bar Association adopted fitting resolutions which together with addresses delivered by distinguished members of the bar were spread upon the records of the court. The members of the bar attended the funeral ceremonies in a body.

Memorial exercises were also held in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, Judge J O. Humphrey presiding. On this occasion the members of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois attended in a body and occupied the bench with Judge Humphrey. The resolutions of the Sangamon County Bar and addresses by eminent members of the bar were made a matter of record and placed in the archives of the court.

On a beautiful knoll in Oak Ridge Cemetery, in the shadow of the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, sleeps in peace all that is mortal of Shelby M. Cullom.

## SHELBY MOORE CULLOM.

### FUNERAL SERVICES IN THE CAPITOL.

The body of the dead statesman lay in state in the Capitol from 9 to 12 o'clock in the morning, Sunday, February 1, 1914, with non-commissioned officers of the Illinois National Guard standing guard. Many hundreds of persons, including visitors who had come in during the course of the night for the final services, viewed the features.

At the funeral hour, 2:30 o'clock, Representatives' Hall was filled. A large space had been reserved for members of the family and personal friends, but further than this the service was public.

The groups of men were noticeable. Near the front of the reserved section sat three former Illinois Governors—Joseph W. Fifer, of Bloomington; Richard Yates, of Springfield, and Charles S. Deneen, of Chicago. Sitting nearby was former United States Senator Albert J. Hopkins, of Aurora. Judge J Otis Humphrey, one of Senator Cullom's closest friends; Adj. Gen. Frank S. Dickson, Supreme Justice Orrin N. Carter, and others.

Sitting side by side a few seats back of the casket, which occupied a position in front of the Speaker's stand in Representatives' Hall, were John W. Bunn, veteran business man of Springfield, and Dr. William Jayne, territorial governor of the Dakotas, whom Abraham Lincoln appointed, and both of whom not only were Lincoln's friends but intimate friends of the late Shelby M. Cullom as well.

The section to the left of the casket was reserved for the relatives. To the right sat the pallbearers, all friends of the departed statesman. The choir of the First Presbyterian Church which sang, occupied the west press box of the chamber.

Dr. Donald McLeod, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, officiating minister, occupied a place on the Speaker's rostrum with Governor Edward F. Dunne, United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman and Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, who delivered the memorial address.

The reading of a passage of Scripture by the officiating clergyman marked the opening of the service. Members of the choir, including

Mrs. Will Taylor, Mrs. Frank V. Partridge, Harry Smith, and Lawrence Flinn, with Miss Ethel Lynn Ross accompanying, sang "Lead Kindly Light."

A prayer by the minister preceded the reading of the Twenty-third Psalm, after which Dr. McLeod gave a short address.

In turn, the addresses of Governor Dunne, United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman and of Mr. Conkling, followed.

With the pronunciation of the benediction, the service was closed, and pallbearers bore the remains from the hall while the hundreds of friends stood reverently.

The casket occupied a position north of the Speaker's and clerk's desk, the bier extending for a distance up the center aisle. The floral tributes of distinguished donors were piled about the coffin. Black draperies were hung from the lights about the clerk's desk.

The tributes included pieces sent by President and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Robert T. Lincoln, members of the Lincoln Memorial Commission at Washington, the citizens of Cairo, the piece of eighty-five roses from Fred A. Busse, John C. Ames, D. A. Campbell, Frank L. Smith, C. P. Gardner, James H. Wilkerson, L. T. Hoy, and Garfield Charles; one from Mrs. John A. Logan, and numerous pieces from others, including a tribute from the Sangamo Club, of which the deceased was an honorary member.

The ushers at the Capitol were: Owsley Brown and Frank L. Hatch, assisted by E. S. Scott, Stuart Brown, Walter M. Allen, Scott Humphrey, James A. Easley, Colburn F. Buck, H. H. Dickerman, Jerome A. Leland, George Pasfield, Latham T. Souther, Hay Brown, John H. McCreary, Ernest Helmle, P. B. Warren, Henry Ables, Logan Coleman, Will H. Conkling, Colonel Henry Davis, George E. Keys, Robert C. Lanphier, V. Y. Dallman, George M. Brinkerhoff, jr., W. B. Jess, S. Leigh Call, and Dr. C. L. Patton.

The military guard used to assist at the Statehouse and at the grave was as follows:

First Cavalry—Sergeant Major F. H. Clarke, Color Sergeant F. J. Lippert, Quartermaster Sergeants Edward Spearing, J. C. McGregor, James Doorley; Sergeants Edward Fiebig and Einer Schjerven; Trumpeter W. H. Buchanan.

First Infantry—Sergeants Melvin W. Bridges, Raymond E. Darrow, Louis C. Hilgeman, James H. O'Brien, John E. Hayes, Frank S. Boland, Hoyt M. Peters, Fred C. Berk.

Second Infantry—Sergeants Albert F. Lind, Max L. Gronow, C. A. Lindvall, W. E. Martin, Thomas Smith, Harry Cohen, Willis R. Slimmer and John L. Stafford.

Seventh Infantry—Sergeants James Burns, John Caldwell, Peter Rosenwicz, James Cull, Clarence Bernhardt, Charles C. Southern, and James Johnson.

Illinois Naval Reserve—Petty Officers W. H. Brown, P. L. Sipp, K. K. Bradberry, and W. T. Shiplock.

The pallbearers were:

Preceding the casket—Garfield Charles of Chicago, former secretary to Senator Cullom.

Following the casket—George B. Stadden of Springfield.

Paired off and serving at opposite sides of the casket—Frank Fisher and Shelby C. Dorwin, Senator Logan Hay and Jacob Bunn, Harry A. Converse and Edward S. Robinson, Postmaster Loren E. Wheeler and Henry Merriam.

The cortege, proceeding east on Capitol Avenue after it had formed at the north doors of the Capitol, moved east to Sixth Street, north to Washington, west to Fourth and out north to the cemetery. Hundreds of persons were grouped in numerous places to witness the passing of the funeral procession.

The Sangamon County Bar Association met at the Leland Hotel at 2 o'clock and marched in a body to the Statehouse.

## BURIAL IN OAK RIDGE CEMETERY.

Friends lowered into the grave, a stone's throw northeast of the Lincoln Monument, the remains of the martyr's distinguished protege and friend, Shelby M. Cullom.

The simple little ceremony, accompanied only by a brief word from the officiating pastor and a short prayer, closed the book upon the epochs of a life of more than fourscore years in length and of half a century of continuous service to the public.

Concluding the significant services of the day, the burial scene in simplicity emulated the career of the famous man and emphasized more vividly than ever the imprint of the Emancipator's influence upon the life just closed.

Past Governors of Illinois, former United States Senators, present State officials, and a host of friends looked on as the mortal remains of the statesman were made ready to pursue the biblical injunction of earth to earth, dust to dust, and ashes to ashes.

The funeral day was one which Springfield will not soon forget. Perhaps not a greater representative body of political folk has been assembled since the funeral of Lincoln; it is certain that the ends of the State never were more thoroughly represented.

The near relatives of Senator Cullom were present at the services. Miss Victoria Fisher, of Washington, sister-in-law of the senator; Miss Kate Fisher, of Springfield, also a sister-in-law of Senator Cullom; William Barrett Ridgely, son-in-law; two nieces and four grandnieces were there. Mrs. G. H. Schimpff, of Peoria, niece, and two sons, Herman and Charles; Mr. and Mrs. George Davis of Peoria; another niece, and two children, George and Shelby Cullom Davis; Postmaster John Culbertson and Herbert Skelly; Mrs. Verenice McGee and Mrs. Florence Harwood of Williamsville and John Fisher of Ohio, Ill.

The only sister of the departed Senator, Mrs. Lina Leeper, of Farmington, was not able to attend on account of her advanced age.

Those attending from Springfield were: Miss Fannie Fisher, Miss Lillie Fisher, Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Dorwin, Mr. and Mrs. Shelby C. Dorwin, Frank R. Fisher, Reed S. Fisher, Miss Bertha Fisher, Miss Anna Fisher, Miss Laura Fisher, Miss Kate Fisher, George T. Fisher, Miss Sarah Fisher, Miss Sue Fisher, Miss Elizabeth Fisher, Mrs. Julia Bates, Miss Ethel Bates, Mrs. Louise Wieties, and Mrs. Avery Bea.

In addition to the resident State officials, many prominent men came from Chicago and other parts of the State for the service, and several organizations were represented.

Among those who were here from a distance were: Former Governor Charles S. Deneen, Chicago; Former Governor Joseph W. Fifer, Bloomington; Former United States Senator Albert J. Hopkins, Aurora; Former United States Senator William E. Mason, Chicago; Lieutenant Governor Barrett O'Hara, Chicago; Former Secretary of State Cornelius J. Doyle, Springfield; Speaker William McKinley, Chicago; Former Mayor Fred A. Busse, Chicago; Postmaster Daniel A. Campbell, Chicago.

John C. Ames, James H. Wilkerson, Lyman T. Hoy, David E. Shanahan, Chicago; C. P. Gardner, Mendota; John A. Sterling, Bloomington; Ralph Bradford, Pontiac; P. T. Chapman, Vienna; Frank L. Smith, Dwight; A. C. Bartlett, Chicago; J. W. Kitchell, Pana; Mayor W. H. Wood, Cairo; Sidney S. Miller, Cairo; Robert H. Lovett, Peoria; George C. Rankin, Monmouth; T. B. Needles, Nashville; J. V. Graff, Peoria; James B. Searcy, Thomas K. Rinaker, George Jordan, Will B. Otwell, James E. McClure, George J. Castle, M. L. Keplinger, all of Carlinville; Charles E. Cox, Pittsfield; L. A. Townsend, Galesburg; William Winnans, Chicago; T. S. Chapman, Jerseyville; Lafayette Funk, Bloomington; W. A. Rodenburg, East St. Louis; W. E. Trautman, East St. Louis; E. S. Nicholson, Beardstown; William H. Behrens, Carlinville; O. A. Harker, Champaign; Thomas C. Milchrist, Chicago; Zeno J. Rives, Litchfield; David Davis, Litchfield; Homer J. Tice, Greenview. C. P. Hitch, Paris; John S. Spry, Chicago; John M. Glenn, Chicago; Col. Frank O. Lowden, Chicago; Alva Merrill, Peoria; Walter S. Louden, East St. Louis; Theodore G. Risley, Mt. Carmel; V. A. Fritchey, Olney; J. W. Becker, Jerseyville; A. J. Scrogin, Lexington; Garfield Charles, Chicago; W. F. Calhoun, Decatur; John J. Reeve, Jacksonville; Thomas Worthington, Jacksonville; P. G. Rennick, Peoria; T. C. MacMillan, Chicago; J. S. Aisthorpe, Cairo; H. N. Schuyler, Pana; W. F. Bundy, Centralia; C. T. Beckman, Petersburg; John A. Montelius, Piper City; Elijah Needham, Virginia; Josiah Kerrick, Minonk; Julius S. Starr, Peoria; Frank R. Milnor, Litchfield; Roger Sullivan, Chicago; Judge W. A. Vincent, Judge Dennis Sullivan, Judge McKinley, Chicago; R. S. Jones, Flora; former Secretary of State Henry Dement.

Citizens of Cairo, who feel indebted to the dead statesman specially for the original $250,000 which Congress appropriated for the improving of levees in the Cairo district after the disastrous flood a year ago, appointed a delegation to represent them at the service. This quarter of a million dollars was the nucleus of nearly $1,000,000 which since has been raised for the project of levee and drainage improvement.

In the Cairo party were: Mayor W. H. Wood, chairman; former Mayor George Parsons, Postmaster Sidney B. Miller, former State Senator Walter Warder, John S. Aisthorpe, Judge W. N. Butler, M. F. Gilbert, H. S. Antrim, John Greaney, E. L. Gilbert, P. T. Langan, W. F. Crossley, George T. Carnes, A. S. Frazer, sheriff; Frank Spencer, Richard Gannan, C. V. Neff, E. E. Cox, and J. B. Magee.

The Cairo visitors, with all others from out of the city, assembled at the Sangamo Club, where club officials and members received them preparatory to their march to the Capitol for the funeral services.

## FUNERAL SERMON.

Rev. Donald McLeod, D. D., Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ill.

Of all the transformations effected in this world, through nineteen centuries, by the gospel of Jesus Christ, there is none greater and more blessed than the change in the attitude of human thought and sentiment toward the great event in the progress of human destiny before which we reverently bow today.

The age-long night of darkness and fear that enshrouded death has been gradually disappearing before the increasing splendor of the rising and ascending sun of the triumphant resurrection day of the great Son of Man; and when this sun shall have reached its meridian, the last lingering shadow of the fear of death will have passed from the Christian horizon, and in the full light of divine revelation we will see with God, that death is not a loss, but an incomparable gain; death is not a catastrophe, but a consummation; death is not the eclipsing of the luminous ideal; the lowering of the lofty aim; the overthrow of the magnificent plan; the paralysis of the heroic purpose; the suspension of the altruistic service—death is the translation of them all for richer and greater fruition to the larger and more gorgeous stage of the eternal. Death is not the end of a career, nor the beginning of a career, but a significant event in the continuous progress of an immortal destiny. Jesus said: "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die." The great poet adds: "There is no death; what seems so is transition. This life of mortal breath is but a suburb of the life Elysian whose portal we call death."

While God has much of promise, power, attainment and hope mixed with burden, weakness and pain for his children in this world, it is beyond the gate of death God beholds for us the beautific vision. To unveil its glory he exhausts the last resource of human language and imagery; "And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the lamb in the midst of the street thereof. And on this side of the river and on that was the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." "And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; for their works follow with them." "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved we have a building from God, a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens."

In response to our Heavenly Father's abounding comfort, we should sorrow not today as those who are without hope. The clouds of our sorrow are pierced and streaked with the radiant light of an immortal hope. God's song of comfort and consolation for us today has a succession of great notes.

We should be comforted because here was one that enjoyed the full measure of the promised span of earthly existence. God says: "The days of our years are three score years and ten, or even by reason of strength the four score years. Yet is their pride but labor and sorrow.

For it is soon gone and we fly away." Our distinguished friend, Senator Shelby M. Cullom, in the full enjoyment of his mental powers, carried the burdens of exalted position and large responsibility past the three score years and ten; past the four score years, and well toward the four score years and ten. He rounded out a full age, and went to his home "Like as a shock of corn cometh in in its season."

We should be comforted because here was an actor that played his part upon the world stage for more than half a century, the most spectacular and thrilling in its events, the mightiest and most magnificent in its achievements in the history of modern times, if not indeed in all the history of the world. What dramatic scenes have been enacted upon the world stage during these memorable years! He saw the Republic pass through its baptism of blood and emerge from it to enter upon the most phenomenal period of progress in the history of nations. He witnessed the formation of the German empire; he watched the unification of the various states and principalities of Italy under a constitutional monarchy; he saw the sun of Japan rising over the crags of Port Arthur; through the triumphs of steam and electricity he witnessed the annihilation of space, so that London, Paris or Berlin are closer to New York than Washington and Pittsburg used to be when he entered upon the stage.

Through telegraph, telephone and wireless telegraphy he has seen the whole world converted into a veritable whispering gallery. By means of the cylinder press he has seen universal education brought out of the land of dreams and made a commonplace of everyday life. He has lived in the golden age of democracy, liberty, equality, opportunity.

We should be comforted because our honored and distinguished citizen was not a mere curtain raiser or scene shifter, but a conspicuous actor upon the national and world stage during the enactment of the wonderful drama of the last half century. Twice elected Governor of this great sovereign State, five times elected United States Senator. In the greatest deliberative body in the world, in length of service exceeded only by two men in all the history of the Republic. In patriotism, in devotion to duty, in loftiness of purpose, purity of motive and integrity of character, the peer of any of the immortals who have graced the halls of the United States Senate.

We should be comforted because in the stress of the insidious temptations of public life, peculiar to an era of rapid progress, great enthusiasms, phenomenal wealth, laxity of conscience, while other men, distinguished in achievement, brilliant in attainments and high in public esteem were taken off their guard and beguiled into slippery places, Senator Shelby M. Cullom maintained his integrity unsmirched unto the end. In the blazing light that shines upon his exalted position, no selfishness can be seen in his motive, no dishonesty in his conduct, no stain upon his character.

We should be comforted because the Senator realized the fruition of his hopes. He has not gone into the great future with the worm of disappointed ambition gnawing at his soul. His last ambition was to assure the erection of a monument in the National Capital worthy of the character and achievement of his immortal friend and fellow citizen, Abraham Lincoln. For the form and fact of that monument, which

will soon be a thing of beauty and an honor to the National Capital and the Nation—the credit belongs supremely to the Hon. Shelby M. Cullom.

The coronation of our comfort is that the highest and best in this world is only the vestibule of the palace—the porch of the great temple. God says: "Abraham died and he was gathered to his people. Job died and was gathered to his people." "Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace." "Thou shalt see the king in his beauty." Weary and burdened with the weight of age and infirmity, longing for the companionship of friends and loved ones gone before, can faith not see the door of death opening into chambers more gorgeous than senate chambers of earth, and welcome to the companionship of loved ones and into the fellowship of all the great souls of all the ages.

## ADDRESS—SHELBY M. CULLOM.

HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE, Governor of Illinois.

Man dies but his memory lives. His material part dissolves and decays; his spiritual and intellectual elements survive and endure.

All that was mortal of Shelby M. Cullom lies before us helpless and inert. The spiritual and intellectual record of his past lies before us vigorous and forceful.

It falls to the lot of few men to have their lives so long and so prominently woven into the history of his State and country as was the life of Senator Cullom.

To fewer still does it fall to leave behind him, after such a life, so fragrant and wholesome a memory. For over half a century he held public office continuously down to the hour of his death.

During that half century parties were born and died, policies of government changed, leaders rose and fell, party ties were broken and realigned, and during that half century this man living continuously in one small county, by his force of character, lovable disposition, and above all, by his irreproachable integrity, secured and retained the confidence and respect of the people of a great State, who kept him amidst all the vicissitudes of political warfare in positions of the highest dignity and responsibility.

His was not the blazing light of the flaring comet which dazzles the eye and soon is lost in darkness, but the steady, sober light of the heavenly star which shines throughout the long years with unvarying purity and splendor.

The secret of Senator Cullom's marvelous hold upon his fellow citizens is easily understood. No man has ever succeeded in retaining the confidence of the public for any great length of time unless the public were convinced of his integrity.

Brilliant men have arisen in public life in this and every other country by sheer force of their intellectual strength. For a time they have succeeded in arousing and holding the admiration of their fellow men, but no man, however brilliant he may be, has ever succeeded in keeping himself in positions of public trust and honor unless he had that first essential of a successful statesman, inbred honesty.

If a flaw be found in the armor of that integrity, the people will drive such a man from public life. Jefferson once said, "That the whole art of government consists in the art of being honest," and that is the

reason, in my judgment, why Senator Cullom was so adept in the art of government.

I knew him not, personally. I differed with him, as many have, on political issues. I believed his party erred repeatedly, and that he erred with his party, but as I look over his long career I cannot find a time when I ever believed that he was dishonest in his votes, or in the advocacy of his party principles.

All men in public life are subjected to fierce criticism by their political enemies, and he did not escape it. Most of this criticism is, as a rule, unjust, and actuated by party rancor, but no critic that I have ever read or heard during the one-half century of his political life ever questioned Senator Cullom's integrity.

For thirty years he was a member of an exalted body of legislators, where opulence was the rule and a moderate competency the exception. He had before him the temptations thrown around every man in public life. He became intimately acquainted with the ease and luxury which wealth produces, and which make other men envious of such possessions, and yet this man lived and died comparatively a poor man, which is the best test of integrity and devotion to duty.

May this life of integrity which he led and this reputation which he leaves behind him be an incentive to the public men of the day, and of the days to come, to devote their lives as he did to their country's welfare, without price or reward, except such as is given by the law of the land.

His friends and relatives have the consolation of knowing that he left behind him a heritage greater and grander than all earthly riches—the heritage of an honest name and a record of duty done.

The State of Illinois numbers among its illustrious sons the names of many whom history would record among the Nation's great. The name of Lincoln is titanic. The name of Douglas, Yates, Oglesby, Logan and Altgeld will go down in history, not only among the great men of Illinois, but among the great men of the American Nation, and in the long roster of the names of which Illinois feels proud, and which she has given to the American Nation, let us now record, as he sleeps in his grave, the name of Shelby M. Cullom.

## ADDRESS OF UNITED STATES SENATOR, L. Y. SHERMAN.

This day mortality's last tribute to the dead is paid. Our voices break a fleeting moment the gathering silence of the grave. We, who still walk for a certain period on time's ever-changing shore, will soon from this place separate each to his several way. Our generation like its predecessors, will swiftly pass to its appointed end.

To few of us will be given Senator Cullom's length of years and full measure of honor and usefulness.

Nearly all of his contemporaries have joined the silent majority. But this brief service in this legislative hall does not mark the beginning of forgetfulness. Death has stricken his name from the roll of the living, but it cannot obliterate his deeds of fifty years.

He was of the type who build states and successfully govern nations.

Neither the agitator nor the destroyer found in him a response. If sometimes he seemed to plod, it was but a patient pause that sprang

from the research and deliberation that sought the path of safety. He dealt with the vital and the elemental, and he knew instinctively that in such things errors were costly. He always feared mistakes. He never feared criticism. When an evil existed he saw it and spent no time in idle denunciation and self-advertisement. He devised remedies and sought their adoption. In the remarkable development following the Civil War, he observed that the distribution of things was as needful as their production. He made no crusade on common carriers. He supported wise regulation, but never the destruction or embarrassment of railways. After twenty-seven years, all now recognize the sound, far-sighted understanding that guided his course in the uncertainty that beset and clouded the problem then.

His interstate commerce law was a pioneer and it survives. Like the fathers who saw with prescient eye the strength of plan and principle, leaving the superstructure for worthy sons, so he too, sketched with unerring hand and hewed with sturdy strokes until the foundation was strong and the plan secure.

What matters it that some of its sections failed? Every adverse judicial decision was creative criticism that served to perfect and apply his original thought. Today his act is reenforced and fortified by legislation and administration until the law that Cullom penned governs two hundred and fifty thousand miles of railroad in justice. His name is imperishably entwined with one of the great laws of the United States.

Bronze and marble can add nothing to the monument he builded for himself while on earth.

It was no mere accident that kept him in public life for more than fifty years. His associates were some of the most remarkable men of our country. He kept pace with them in peace and war and met his duties with ability, dignity and power. His integrity, simplicity and greatness of common sense linked his name with Illinois for half a century.

For thirty years he was a Senator of the United States. The simple statement is the eloquent eulogy that no elaboration can strengthen or surpass. For more than twenty years he served our State before he passed into the wider theatre of national life.

Within thy limits, Oh Springfield, many of his comrades rest from their toil! In future years the generations yet to come will turn their footsteps to Lincoln's grave as of old, the shrine of freedom and liberty under the rule of law. Within that hallowed ground, consecrated by the sacred memories of an heroic age, we commit the mortal body of Cullom to his tomb.

## MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

### Mr. Clinton L. Conkling.

To a thoughtful mind, the study of the lives of eminent men is both interesting and instructive.

When this study is of one whom we have known and admired there is an added pleasure and profit.

Today we meet to briefly review the career of one of these notable men of our day and express our appreciation of his virtues.

Among those men who have achieved eminence in the State and in the Nation, Senator Shelby M. Cullom has occupied an enviable position.

The story of his life as legislator, Governor, Congressman, Senator and statesman has been most eloquently presented. This is the record of his public life, but it is, however, not complete without some reference to the years wherein he was engaged in the study and active practice of the law at the Sangamon County Bar.

Like many another successful lawyer, his early years were spent on a farm. The pure air and active physical employments of the country made him strong to endure the stress of the years of mental activity which were to follow. The life of a country school teacher in a comparatively primitive community added to his experiences. The lure of the land, however, soon lost its hold upon his ambitious mind. He was looking into the future endeavoring to forecast what the fates might have in store for him. The way that led most directly to prominence and political preferment, in that day, much more than it does now, was the study and practice of the law. To this he determined to devote himself. Coming to Springfield, he sought the advice of Abraham Lincoln, who was a warm personal friend of his father. Mr. Lincoln advised him not to enter his office, because he was away so much of the time on the circuit, that he would be unable to give him that personal attention in his studies which he should receive from his preceptor. He advised him to study with Stuart & Edwards, then in the forefront of the Sangamon County Bar. So in 1853 he commenced to read law with that firm and incidentally, as was the custom of that day, swept out the office, made the fires when necessary, and was general assistant. After the prescribed two years' course of reading, he was in 1855 admitted to the bar and almost immediately was elected City Attorney of Springfield, then but a small town. Thus early did he utilize his newly acquired profession to enable him to win political as well as professional position.

In the Courts of the Justices of the Peace—the so-called Courts of the People—he learned his first lessons as a practicing lawyer. Much of his term was occupied in the prosecution, under the city ordinances, of what were called liquor cases. In these courts, humble though they were, he acquired habits of ready speech and resourcefulness which stood him in good stead in the future. He here learned, as the lawyers say, "to be ready on his feet."

His first partnership was with Antrim Campbell as Campbell & Cullom. Very soon Milton Hay, one of the most eminent lawyers in the State, became, about 1861, the senior partner and the firm was known as Hay, Campbell & Cullom.

Presently Mr. Campbell retired to accept an official position in the United States Circuit Court and the name then became Hay & Cullom. The firm had a large and lucrative practice for that day, much of which was in the United States Courts at Springfield. They frequently appeared in the so called "cotton cases" arising out of the operations of the Federal Armies in the South and in many most important cases involving the title to valuable lands in the Military Tract, a region lying between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers.

Mr. Hay, as senior member of the firm and by reason of his great experience and ability, bore the brunt of the trials and arguments before the court, but Mr. Cullom was an able assistant. The wide acquaintance of the latter and his agreeable personality brought to them many clients.

This partnership lasted until about 1866. Not long thereafter Mr. Cullom became associated with Charles S. Zane, who, in 1873, was elected one of the judges of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, of which Sangamon County was a part, and afterwards, in 1883, became Chief Justice of the Territory of Utah, and had much to do with the suppression of polygamy among the Mormons. A short time before Judge Zane's election Mr. Cullom seems to have abandoned the legal profession and to have gone into the banking business, but this was soon forsaken and he returned to the profession of politics in which he had been so successful and which in the future was to bring to him many years of success and abundant rewards in honor and usefulness.

Mr. Cullom was a zealous and painstaking lawyer. While he was not a great orator he was a forceful speaker and was persuasive in manner and speech. His code of ethics was admirable and he possessed the confidence of the Bench.

His legal education and experience were of great assistance to him in his subsequent legislative, executive and congressional work.

At the time he entered the legal profession and for some years thereafter the Bar of Sangamon County was as brilliant and able as any in the country. By frequent contact in the courts and elsewhere with the eminent men of those days he was being fashioned and formed to become the statesman of later years.

He numbered among his friends and associates of that bar, Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant and the great patriot, Stephen T. Logan, the distinguished jurist, John T. Stuart and Benjamin S. Edwards, both most able lawyers, General John M. Palmer, soldier and friend of the oppressed Negro, Judge David Davis, later of the United States Supreme Court, O. H. Browning, the polished gentleman of the Old School, Colonel Edward D. Baker, the brilliant orator, who died at Ball's Bluff, Milton Hay, a friend and advisor of the Martyr President, William H. Herndon, the erratic law partner of Mr. Lincoln, Richard Yates, the great War Governor of Illinois, James C. Conkling, a brilliant and cultivated speaker, General John A. McClernand, impetuous and fiery but thoroughly loyal to the Union; and with these were many others of note. The inspiration derived from personal contact with these men had a lasting effect upon Mr. Cullom. From these experiences and this environment he learned to weigh well his words and his acts while they were yet within his control, and to consider their future effect as well as present advantage. He was always level headed.

Shelby M. Cullom, as farmer, teacher, student, lawyer, legislator, Governor, Congressman and statesman is before you. It seems that these should round out the story of his life and that the record should now be closed, but there is something still to be said.

Into the sacred circle of that happy home life which was his for so many years we will not enter. Suffice it to say, it was ideal for its purity and sweetness.

But we wish to say a few words of him as a neighbor. He was always genial and cordial towards those who lived near him. His friendly, cheerful ways endeared him to all. Those who differed with him politically were socially his firm friends. To the poor and unfortunate he was kind. The struggling young man seeking wise advice could depend upon his aid.

Even as I write there comes to me from a perfect stranger in a far distant city the fervent words of a successful lawyer who begs that at this time he may pay his tribute at the bier of this fallen chieftain, who, he says, "to him and to his fellow Negroes of the Nation was a second Lincoln." As a Negro orphan boy, born in slavery this writer through his aid, counsel and advice passed through grammar school, high school and university, up to professional success.

Mr. Cullom, as a lawyer, in his early manhood obtained a lucrative practice; as a politician of the best type he was eminently successful; as a statesman, he was conservative and safe. Amid all his successes he was always democratic in feeling and readily accessible to any of his constituents. He was hard-working, painstaking and conscientious in his public duties.

His private life was pure and in public life no scandal attached itself to his name. He was beloved by his friends. In his death, this State has lost one of its most eminent sons, and his neighbors a warm personal friend.

And finally, with the last page of his record of "Fifty Years of Public Service" open before us, let us rejoice that the doubts which beset him in the "dark day when the light was dim," passed away before the last supreme moment came and that he who "longed to meet the loved ones who have gone before," could say:

"I shall one day stand by the water cold,
And list for the sound of the boatsman's oar;
I shall watch for a gleam of the flapping sail,
I shall hear the boat as it gains the strand,
I shall pass from sight with the boatman pale,
To the better shore of the Spirit Land.
I shall know the loved ones who have gone before,
And joyfully sweet will the meeting be,
When over the river, the peaceful river,
The angel of death shall carry me."

LETTER FROM MR. EDWARD F. LEONARD, AMHERST, MASS., INTIMATE FRIEND AND FORMER SECRETARY OF SHELBY M. CULLOM.

AMHERST, MASS., *March 18, 1914.*

MY DEAR JUDGE: In answer to your favor of 16th inst., I cannot tell you anything which you do not know, but I have briefly noted some things which will serve to remind you of subjects worthy of your notice.

Some of the most important characteristics of Cullom's career cannot be fully emphasized—such as his habits of living and his relations to party politics because it would challenge comparison with others who have been Governor and might seem to be said for that purpose.

But you can afford to say that Cullom enjoyed while he was Governor in a very high degree the respect and confidence of the people of the State, which he fully merited both by his official conduct and by the many virtues which marked his career in private life.

In Cullom's "Fifty Years of Public Service," pages 160-168, for some good suggestions—especially about the East St. Louis strike—and his closing remarks about the character of his administration. Also about his relations to the Legislature, when his varied personal experience in legislative bodies gave him great and useful influence. Governor Cullom inaugurated the requisition of public notice of the hearing of applications for pardons by advertisement in the county where the trial and conviction occurred, and also required statements from the judge and State's attorney, giving their views of the merits of the case. This has since been adopted in the practice before the Pardon Board, and has been very effective in securing good results in this important branch of the Governor's duties.

In Cullom's term the care of the public institutions formed in volume and importance the chief part of his work and on this subject see what follows.

His administration and management of the penal and charitable departments of the State were eminently successful.

During his term of office a number of important new institutions were authorized and their location and construction have proven to have been well chosen and designed.

No man in Illinois had a more intimate and accurate knowledge of the State and its people, and by this he was enabled to select capable and efficient boards of trustees and commissioners, and while he left to them the details of organization, he kept in close touch with them and was always accessible for consultation and advice.

As a result, there were no scandals, and under his direction and that of the State Board of Charities and the State Auditing Department, the finances of the State institutions were never involved or embarrassed.

And privately, I add to you that none of the recent legislation on this subject would have been necessary if Cullom's methods of appointment and control had been followed by his successors.

This does not amount to much, but it may be of some use to you.

Yours sincerely,

E. F. Leonard.

To Judge J. O. Humphrey.

# SOME EFFECTS OF GEOLOGICAL HISTORY ON PRESENT CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS.

By Prof. A. R. Crook, Springfield, Curator of the Illinois State Natural History Museum.

It affords me pleasure as President of the State Academy of Science to extend greetings to the State Historical Society and to express the admiration of our young Academy which is but six years old, for your society with its fifteen years of achievement. The high character and faithful work of your officers together with the enthusiasm and activity of your members, has vouchsafed a splendid past and gives promise of a more glorious future. We delight in your prosperity. We desire its continuance in enlarged measure and earnestly covet similar success for ourselves.

The Historical Society and Academy have much in common. While cultivating distinct fields, they are closely related in method, purpose and results. The historian employes the scientific method. The man of science devotes much study to the history of his subject. A zoologist may not confine himself to present forms alone. He must devote much time to paleontology. The geologist investigates present conditions in order to learn of past events. Historical geology forms one of his main fields of investigation. He claims to be the historian *par excellence.* No man of science can master his subject without reviewing all that has been done in the past. The historian and the man of science both strive to increase knowledge in the earth to the end that beauty, virtue and happiness may more abundantly abound. May their common labors add to the wealth, wisdom and general welfare of the people of Illinois.

May I invite your attention to the fact that this State, its cities, villages, people, fields and underlying rocks are in their present condition because of forces which were active in infinitely remote times and have been continuing up to the geological present. If the glacial epoch had not left its impress on the surface of the ground now comprised within the State, if, under the surface, Cretaceous, Jurassic, and Triassic rocks had been laid down; if the Carboniferous period had been wanting; or if the Devonian or Silurian period of a hundred million years ago had in any degree been different from what they actually were, Illinois might today have been a mountain region, an arid waste or the bottom of the ocean.

The minerals in the rocks under us, the soils which furnish our food, and the streams of this State are the result of forces working through the ages.

Thus not only the events of yesterday, of recent years or even centuries with their human activities, but events of the most ancient

sort claim our attention if we would thoroughly understand present conditions.

Illinois is well watered. The rivers are equitably distributed. They have not eroded too deep channels. Their flow is reasonably consistent. A map of the Illinois basin makes this evident. At one time Lake Michigan emptied through the valleys of the Chicago, Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers into the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. A series of photographs which I took some fifteen years ago in this valley while the Chicago Drainage canal was building, furnish an excellent opportunity to study the geological strata of the region and show how level were the rocks deposited in Silurian days and what forces have been at work since then.

Illinois rocks have been subjected to no great stresses such as have produced the wonderful scenery of California. A Yosemite Valley within a few miles of Chicago would be very attractive, but to form it, hundreds of square miles of inaccessible and rugged mountain chains would be required. While there is room for it in California, with its 750 miles of length and 200 miles of breadth, Illinois cannot well afford to devote much of its territory to scenic purposes. This State has never been the seat of volcanic activity, such, for example, as that which makes the Island of Staffa so picturesque. Because of our ancient and placid past, Illinois scenery is made up of broad fertile valleys, of low plains, of gently rolling prairie lands.

What an interesting procession of fauna and flora have inhabited these plains. Many of them were curious in shape and form; many peculiar to tropical countries; many the precursors of types highly developed and useful today. Their study gives an insight into the procession of events which have led to present conditions.

It would be impossible for six million people to live as happily here as they now do were it not for the mineral content of our soils and of the underlying rocks. Consider for a moment just one of the constituents of the soils. If this one constituent, phosphorus, were wanting, men could not live. There would be no material for bones or teeth. In the fields there would be no corn or wheat or other grains. Food and life itself are dependent on phosphorus in the soil. If conditions had been different in the State, phosphorus might not have been available. Or take the most productive of our mineral resources, coal. It might not have been deposited in this region or it might have been so deeply buried that it would have been impossible to mine it. But in later Carboniferous times it was deposited in accessible form. It represents the stored up energy of the sun for a million years. Without it a city like Chicago would be an impossibility. People could not be kept warm. Machinery could not run, giving employment, clothing, housing, and food for millions. There could be no railroads, since rails could not be made, nor the rolling stock itself, nor could trains be run transporting people and produce. Our civilization is entirely dependent on this contribution which the Pennsylvanian geological system has made to mankind.

In this State are numerous other mineral resources which required a complex series of events for their formation and which are indispens-

able to our happiness if not to our very existence. So bountifully are we supplied that last year the mineral production in the State amounted to $137,000,000.00. This amount is exceeded in two states alone, namely, Pennsylvania and Ohio, Illinois ranking third.

A glimpse at a few of these things convinces us that it was a fortunate series of events which prepared the State for man's occupancy. A study of rivers, of soils, of minerals and rocks, of plants and animals, is interesting in itself, but becomes most attractive when viewed in their relation to mankind and through the eyes of the historian and the student of human affairs. The world would be empty indeed if it contained mountains and plains and rivers alone. But to find it inhabited by human beings excelling each other in good deeds, in creative activities and noble aspirations, makes it become a beautifully inhabited garden fit for the dwellings of noble spirits.

# THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND RECONSTRUCTION.

(By William W. Sweet, DePauw University.)

In a paper as brief as this one must necessarily be, I can barely hope to touch upon the possibilities of this subject and to suggest the general lines along which such an investigation might be expected to follow. One of the neglected fields of historical investigation in America is that of church history, especially in its relation to social and political movements, but there are indications at present, however, that would point to a growing interest in this particular field. Among the indications pointing to an increased interest in this field is the fact, that at the last meeting of the American Historical Association, at Charleston, South Carolina, a conference was conducted on "American Religious History" and it is hoped that such a conference will be made a permanent feature of not only the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, but of other historical societies as well.

The general outline I propose to follow in this discussion of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Reconstruction is:

1. The Status of the Methodist Church at the close of the war, and its relation to the Church South.
2. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Freedmen.
3. The position of the Church on the question of political reconstruction.
4. Some observations in regard to the influence of the Church on parties and individuals during the period of reconstruction.

## I.

During the progress of the war the Methodist Episcopal Church had given the Government of the United States a most loyal support. Its 127 conferences in their annual sessions had passed strong, loyal resolutions;[1] the eighteen official periodicals of the Church had supported the cause of the Union by vigorous editorials, urging enlistments, by printing patriotic sermons and addresses, and by calling upon the people for supplies for the Christian and Sanitary Commissions, and by devoting a large share of their space in every issue to the giving of war news.[2] This Church furnished over five hundred chaplains to the armies and navies of the Union,[3] besides over four hundred Methodist ministers who served as delegates under the Christian Commission, all of whom gave some of their time free of charge, to the work of the Commission, many of them going to the front.[4] It is impossible to tell how

[1] "The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War." Sweet, pp. 47-95.
[2] Ibid. Chapter VI, pp. 111-132.
[3] Ibid. Chapter VII, pp. 133-141.
[4] Ibid., p. 164.

many Methodist soldiers served in the Union Army, but the number has been variously estimated from 100,000 to 300,000, and Mr. Lincoln's statement in his address to a Methodist delegation representing the General Conference of 1864, of which Methodists are so proud, is no doubt strictly true: "That the Methodist Episcopal Church sent more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any."[5] And lastly when the body of the martyred president was laid to rest here in Springfield, at the close of the war, a Methodist bishop, Matthew Simpson, was chosen to speak the last words at the tomb.

Before the close of the war the Methodist Episcopal Church had already entered the South with a two-fold mission—first, to carry on the work of their Church in those localities in the South, from which the ministers of the Methodist Church South had fled, on the approach of the Union Armies, leaving their churches vacant. Such churches were, by the order of the War Department at Washington, to be turned over by the various military commanders to the loyal bishops of the North, who were to appoint loyal ministers to go down and take possession. And, second, the Methodist Episcopal Church had gone into the South to look after the freedmen, whose helpless condition appealed strongly to Christian people of every denomination.

Naturally when the war was over and the Methodist Church South began to lay plans for the reorganization of their societies throughout the South, they came in contact and conflict with these representatives of the Church from the North. There was considerable protest on the part of the Church South against the Southern policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for in many instances, when they came to take possession of their churches, they found them occupied by their Northern brethren. "There was much trouble," writes a minister of the Church South, "especially in the Tennessee part of our territory, where our houses of worship had been taken from us by force and our preachers threatened with all sorts of violence if they should dare come into the country to preach.[6] The Southern bishops in their first meeting after the close of the war, drew up a pastoral letter, which was sent out over the South, in which they state that "the conduct of certain Northern Methodist bishops and preachers in taking advantage of the confusion incident to a state of war, to intrude themselves into several of our houses of worship, and in continuing to hold these places against the wishes and protests of the congregations and rightful owners," which they say, causes them pain, "not only as working an injury to us, but as presenting to the world a spectacle ill calculated to make an impression favorable to Christianity."[7]

The Church papers of both branches of Methodism, at the close of the war were filled with discussions relating to the reconstruction of Methodism in the South. There seemed to be a widespread feeling on the part of the leaders in the North that these two largest branches of Methodism should reunite, now that the cause of the split—slavery—was forever removed. Dr. J. P. Newman, who had been placed in charge of the activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church at New Orleans and

[5] McPherson's Rebellion, p. 499.
[6] Recollections of an Old Man—Seventy Years in Dixie. By D. Sullens, p. 307.
[7] Annual Cyclopaedia 1865, p. 620.

vicinity, in 1864, and who was familiar with the situation through first-hand knowledge, says in a communication to one of the Church papers: "The authorities of our Church should make overtures for a reunion to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, on two general conditions: Unqualified loyalty to the general government, and the acceptance of the anti-slavery doctrine of the Church," and he further advises that if this proposal be rejected, "then let the Methodist Episcopal Church plant a loyal, living Church in every city and hamlet of the South."[8] Another writer some weeks later, however, looks upon the prospect of reunion as very doubtful, owing to the fact that the leaders in the Church South "realize that their only hope of influence, or even respectability, is in holding together, as an independent body, the Church they have ruled so long." And further on the same writer says, "They hate the Union, the North, and especially the Methodist Church."[9] There were some leaders in the Southern Church who seemed very receptive of the idea of restoration of fraternal relations between the Churches. A correspondent of one of the influential Southern Methodist papers has this to say on the question: "We will, the whole Southern Church, will entertain any proposition coming from the North for fraternal relations, when that proposition comes from a proper source, and with reasonable and Christian conditions and suggestions. But no proposition has yet been offered, no official communication has yet been made to us as a Church, and perhaps none ever will be."[10] Still another leader in the Southern Church says, concerning Church conciliation: "The South is ready for conciliation," and infers that his Church is ready to hear and consider, in a Christian spirit, whatever proposition the Methodist Episcopal Church sees fit to make.[11]

A correspondence was held during the spring of 1869 between a committee of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a committee of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in reference to the reunion of the two branches of the Church. The Northern bishops said in part: "It seems to us that, as the division of those churches of our country which are of like faith and order has been productive of evil, so the reunion of them would be productive of good. As the main cause of the separation has been removed so the chief obstacle of the restoration. It is fitting that the Methodist Church, which began the disunion, should not be the last to achieve the reunion."[12] The Southern bishops replied that they regretted the controversies and expressed a disposition to cooperate to bring about a better state of things. They suggested, however, that the establishment of fraternal feelings and relations between the churches would be a necessary precedent to reunion, and called attention to the fact of the rejection by the General Conference of 1848 of Rev. Dr. Pierce as fraternal delegate of the Southern Church. In their reply they also make complaint of the Northern missionaries and other agents who have been sent South and have attempted to disintegrate and absorb their societies and have taken possession of their houses of worship. The address ended by

[8] Christian Adv. and Journal (New York), May 25, 1865.
[9] Ibid. June 28, 1865. Article on Methodist Reconstruction by Rev. Geo. L. Taylor.
[10] Southern Christian Advocate, Sept. 21, 1865, quoted in article on "The Spirit of the Southern Press," Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1866, p. 128.
[11] "Episcopal Methodist," quoted as above.
[12] Annual Cyclopaedia, 1869, pp. 432-433.

stating that, "We have no authority to determine anything as to the propriety, practicability and methods" of reunion "of the churches represented by you and ourselves."

In 1866, and for several years thereafter, there was considerable fear expressed by the Southern Church leaders of their Church being "swallowed" by their more powerful rivals of the North,[13] and in order to prevent such an unwelcome assimilation, it was proposed to change the name of the Southern Church to "Episcopal Methodist Church." The General Conference of the Methodist Church South meeting in 1866 passed a resolution to that effect but the annual Conferences failed to concur, as the proposition could not command a three-fourths majority of the members.[14] The activity of their Northern brethren in the South urged the Southern Church on to an increased effort to rehabilitate their disorganized and depleted societies,[15] and there was even an attempt made as early as 1866 to invade the North. In the fall of 1866, Bishop Doggett of the Southern Church, met with the council of the Christian Union Church, an organization made up largely of Southern sympathizers, who had separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church during the war. This Church was very small, most of its membership being found in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Their general council met in 1866 at Clinton, Illinois, and was made up of about one hundred delegates. Bishop Doggett, however, on looking the situation over, decided that it was not best to attempt affiliation with the Church South at that time. A Northern editor of a Methodist journal, commenting on this meeting and the suggested affiliation, says: "We invite the Church South to any field in the North it can occupy. The people they propose to serve in Illinois, as God knows, need all possible moral influences. Their preachers may be compelled to go on short rations, but we will not duck them, or hang them. We will stand by them against all violence. We give them a free North, and demand for ourselves a free South."[16]

The aggressiveness of the Northern Church in the South, immediately after the war, resulted in the organization by 1869 of ten new annual conferences as follows:

Holston Conference, organized at Athens, Tennessee, June 1, 1865.

Mississippi Conference, organized at New Orleans, Louisiana, December 25-27, 1865.

South Carolina Conference, organized at Charleston, April 23, 1866.

Tennessee Conference, organized at Murfreesborough, Tennessee, October 11-14, 1866.

Texas Conference, organized at Houston, Texas, January 3-5, 1867.

Virginia Conference, organized at Portsmouth, Virginia, January 3-7, 1867.

Georgia Conference, organized at Atlanta, Georgia, October 10-14, 1867.

Alabama Conference, organized at Talledega, Alabama, October 17-20, 1867.

Louisiana Conference, organized at New Orleans, January 13-18, 1869.

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[13] "The Two Methodisms, North and South," Methodist Quarterly Review, April, 1866.

[14] Annual Cyclopaedia, 1867, pp. 494-495.

[15] For an able discussion of the future of Southern Methodism, with quotations from the "Southern Christian Advocate," see "The Christian Adv. (New York), February 22, 1866.

[16] "The Church South in Illinois," Western, October 10, 1866.

North Carolina Conference, organized at Union Chapel, North Carolina, January 14-18, 1869,[17] numbering ten in all.

In 1867 there were 66,040 full members reported, and 16,447 probationers and 220 charges.[18] Some of these churches had been founded by army chaplains, as for instance, the church at Baton Rouge, where a chaplain had been appointed pastor of the Northern Methodist Church by Bishop Ames, in 1864, while he was still serving in the army.[19] By 1871, the membership of these churches had grown to 135,424, and the number of preachers had become 630. Of the preachers, 260 were white and 370 were colored, while of the membership 47,000 were white people and 88,425 were colored.[20] The most conspicuous leader of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South at the close of the war was Dr. J. P. Newman, who had been sent to New Orleans in 1864 to superintend the work in that vicinity. Later Dr. Newman became the pastor of the Grant family and a close personal friend of President Grant.

As a matter of course the ministry and membership of these Northern Methodist Churches, planted in the South, were Republicans, and were supporters of the radical reconstruction policies. It is also true that their membership included some carpet-baggers, employees of the Freedman's Bureau, and scalawags. A conspicuous example of the former is Rev. B. F. Whittemore,[21] who was a member of the South Carolina Conference, and in 1867 was superintendent of schools in South Carolina, and later under the carpet-bagger Scott's administration represented the First Congressional District of South Carolina in Congress. He was accused of the unblushing sale of cadetships at West Point and Annapolis, and these charges were investigated by a committee, of which General Logan of Illinois was chairman, and he would have been expelled had he not resigned.[22] I think it may be stated without any hesitancy, that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South was one of the strong factors in organizing the Republican party there, and is therefore partly responsible for perpetrating carpet-bag government and Negro rule upon the prostrate South. The missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, working in the South, realized that the success and perpetuity of their work there depended largely upon the triumph of the radicals in Congress. One missionary writing from the South, states that if President Johnson's policy succeeds, "Union men, missionaries and teachers of freedmen" will be in danger, and "every church and schoolhouse we have established will be destroyed," and further along he says, "If Congress fail we fail; if Congress succeeds we succeed."[23] And it is undoubtedly true that Greeley's definition of a carpet-bagger would apply to some of these Northern Methodists in the South. Some of them were "long-faced, and with eyes rolled up, were greatly concerned for the education of the blacks, and for the salvation of their souls.

[17] "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States," By L. C. Matlack, in Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1872, pp. 103-126.
[18] General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1867.
[19] Western Christian Adv., April 26, 1865. Letter by Chaplain N. L. Brakeman.
[20] Quarterly Review, January, 1872.
[21] General Minutes, 1867.
[22] Rhodes, Vol. VII, pp. 149-150.
[23] Christian Advocate (New York), September 13, 1866, p. 292. Ann. Cyclo. 1866, p. 489. "The progress of the M. E. Church in the late slave-holding states continues to be more rapid than that of any other of the Northern anti-slavery churches and to augur important results, ecclesiastical as well as political."

'Let us pray,' they said, but they spelled pray with an 'e' and thus spelled, they obeyed the apostolic injunction to 'prey without ceasing.' "[24]

To infer, however, that the motives of the Methodist Episcopal Church in sending Northern missionaries into the South, and establishing their churches there, was purely a political one or was primarily selfish, is inferring too much. Many of the Church's leaders were sincere and unselfish, though perhaps many were overzealous, in their feeling that their Church was needed in the South to perform a work, which could not be performed by the Church South because of its poverty and disorganized condition.[25] And also many felt that the Methodist Episcopal Church was needed in the South as a center about which loyal people might congregate, in order to offset the reputed disloyalty of the Methodist Church South. Concerning, however, the position of the Church South in respect to loyalty to the United States Government, at the close of the war, there is much conflicting opinion. The Church South had been practically a unit in the support of the Confederacy, as there is much testimony to prove, but there is also much evidence that at the close of the war the Southern Church accepted the verdict and were sincere in their attempt to become once more loyal supporters of the Government at Washington. The pastoral address of the Southern bishops, issued in the summer of 1865, advises their people to adjust themselves "as citizens of the United States promptly, cheerfully, and in good faith, to all your duties and responsibilities," and this course they feel is called for "both by a sound judgment and an enlightened conscience."[26] Bishop Paine advises the Southern Methodists "to resume in good faith their former positions as law-abiding and useful citizens," and he urged the ministers "to use their influence, both publicly and privately, for the promotion of peace and quietness among all classes."[27] Bishop Pierce likewise advises the people to accept "the issues of the war as the will of God," and tells them not to leave their loyalty in doubt by unmanly repinings, "or by refusing the terms of offered amnesty."[28] Indeed a Southern Methodist paper went so far as to claim that the "Southern Methodist Church today is more thoroughly loyal to the Government, more to be trusted, than the Northern Methodist Church. * * * Our oaths have been taken in good faith and we intend to keep them."[29] While still another Southern writer asserts, "We take our position under the Government to promote peace," and the South "may rest assured that Providence has restored us to the Union, and the Union to us, for purposes and ends wise and beneficent, and reaching far into the future."[30]

On the other hand, there is much Northern opinion to the contrary, and there was a very strong feeling in the North that the Southern Church was still far from loyal. And it is not at all strange that there should have been such diversity of opinion as to the loyalty of the Southern Church, since Generals Grant and Schurz disagreed on the same general question in regard to the whole South. One Northern

[24] Reports of Com. House of Rep., 2 S. 42. Cong. Vol. II, p. 477.
[25] Christian Adv., February 22, 1866.
[26] Annual Cyclo., 1865, p. 620.
[27] Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1866, p. 125.
[28] Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1866, p. 125, from an article on "The Spirit of the Southern Methodist Press."
[29] "The Episcopal Methodist" (Richmond), October 11, 1865.
[30] "The Southern Christian Advocate," October 5, 1865.

editor says, "The loyalty of the Southern Methodist Church is probably much the same kind and degree with that of the mass of 'reconstructed rebels,' "[31] and again the same editor suspects that "Much of the loyalty of the South (meaning the Southern Church) is only from the lips outward and that only where Union bayonets compel it."[32] Still another writer asserts that the Southern Methodists "hate the Union and the North,"[33] while Dr. J. P. Newman felt the need of a "loyal, living" Methodist Episcopal Church "in every city and hamlet of the South."[34]

## II.

A second reason which called the Methodist Episcopal Church into the South at the close of the war, was the great mass of ignorant and needy freedmen. The Church in the North had already begun work among the freedmen, before the close of the war, and missions for colored people had been established as early as 1862,[35] and by the end of the war, the Church was giving general support to a number of Freedmen's associations.[36] During the years 1864 and 1865 the Methodist Church had sent out several missionaries to Negroes in the South, and the Missionary Society had appropriated a considerable sum of money for their support, and for the establishment of churches, Sunday schools and day schools. The Church papers and the various conferences had urged upon the Government the necessity of establishing a Freedman's Bureau, and among the resolutions passed by the General Conference of 1864 was one stating "that the best interests of the freedmen, and of the country demand legislation that shall foster and protect this people," and they urge upon Congress to establish a bureau of freedmen's affairs.[37] And after the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau the Methodist Church became a staunch defender of its work, and a number of Methodist ministers and laymen found employment in it. The best known Methodist layman engaged in the work of the bureau was General Clinton B. Fisk, who was assistant commissioner for Kentucky; and his work was given extravagant praise in the Church press.[38]

When the war was over the Methodist Church greatly increased their work among the freedmen, and by 1871 there were 88,425 colored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, and a number of schools had been established for them, in various sections. In 1866 the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Cincinnati, by a convention of ministers and laymen, called for that purpose, and in 1868 the organization was given official recognition by the Church and has remained one of its principal benevolent organizations ever since.[39]

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[31] Christian Adv. and Journal, January 25, 1866.
[32] Ibid., August 3, 1865.
[33] Ibid., June 8, 1865.
[34] Ibid., May 25, 1865.
[35] Christian Advocate and Journal, February 27, 1862.
[36] Sweet, pp. 171-172.
[37] General Conference Journal, 1864, p. 130.
[38] Western Christian Adv., October 18, 1865. An editorial on the "Freedmen's Bureau" in which General Fisk receives high praise.
[39] Report of the Freedman's Aid Society, 1868, pp. 5-8. The first officers of the new society were: President, Bishop D. W. Clark; vice presidents, Gen. C. B. Fisk, Hon. Grant Goodrich, Rev. J. W. Wiley; corresponding secretary, Rev. J. M. Walden; field secretary, Rev. R. S. Rust; recording secretary, Rev. J. M. Reed; treasurer, Rev. Adam Poe.

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church at Baton Rouge, which was organized in the spring of 1864, is a typical example of the better class of colored churches of this period. This Church, according to the report of the Union chaplain at that post, had nearly three hundred members in 1865, and was in a flourishing condition generally. The congregation worshipped in the basement of the white Methodist Church, and often Union chaplains or ministers from the ranks preached for them. The colored churches were, as a rule, well supplied with local preachers, exhorters and class leaders, and in the church above referred to there were two local preachers, six exhorters and eight class leaders—an excellent training for future political leaders among the colored race.[40]

The attitude of the Southern Church toward the Negro seemed most commendable. At least the editors of their Church papers professed a humane and Christian interest in them, and they further profess that they will meet in the spirit of Christ, the Northern missionary who comes among them to do good and they also state that they do not intend to be outdone in deeds of kindness towards the Negro race. One editor says: "As the father would tenderly nurture the child, and stimulate, encourage and direct his labor to bring it to the productive point, so a wise political economy would impel Southern people to do the same by the Negro."[41] Again the same editor says some months later, "The duty is no less ours (to bring the gospel to the Negro) now than it was before the slaves were emancipated. It is as much our duty to look after their spiritual interests as it is to send missionaries to the Indians or to China."[42] Still another Southern editor says they will rejoice if the "Northern Christians" do half as much as they declare they intend to do, and as to their own work he says, "While we boast of no great wealth, and a very humble share of piety is all we claim, yet, when the genuineness of our regard for the colored race is brought fairly to the test the logic of facts will vindicate us."[43] The Southern ministers as well as the editors were also kindly disposed to the Negro, though in many instances they advised them to leave the Methodist Church South, and enter the Negro churches, such as Zion's Methodist Church or the African Methodist Episcopal Church. One minister states that he told the colored members of his church about Zion's Methodist Church, and "We got the colored people together and after a little talk they agreed to go in a body to that Church, so I took the church register and transferred them."[44]

The attitude of the Methodist leaders in the North toward the Negro was, as we now look at it, foolishly sentimental. They advocated, from the beginning of the war, not only emancipation, but the enfranchisement of the Negro as well. They exalted and exaggerated his virtues, and were more or less blind to his ignorance and glaring weaknesses and faults. Resolutions were passed by the conferences recognizing the freedmen as "native born citizens entitled to all the privileges, immunities and responsibilities of citizenship, including * * * the protection of law and the right of suffrage," and they further declared that they would not slacken their efforts until these rights are obtained

[40] Western, April 26, 1865.
[41] Southern Christian Adv., September 21, 1865.
[42] Ibid., September 21, 1865.
[43] Richmond Christian Adv., October 26, 1865.
[44] Recollections of an Old Man. D. Sullens, p. 327.

for the Negro.[45] Editors wrote stirring editorials on the subject of Negro enfranchisement, and glowing reports from the missionaries in the South were printed from time to time, telling of the great progress of the Negro, and of his fitness for citizenship.

Nothing, perhaps, could have been better fitted for the organization of the Negroes into groups for the purpose of their political control by white leaders than their organization into congregations under the guidance of a white missionary. But just how much of a political role such congregations played during the period of Negro rule, I am not prepared, because of the lack of evidence, to state, but that they did play a considerable political role, I think may be maintained without doubt. As I have already suggested, the Methodist Church particularly, is a good school for the training of speakers, for it gives the layman, as well as the minister, plenty of opportunity in that direction and statistics show that the Negro churches were well supplied with local preachers, exhorters and class leaders. We also know that a number of Negro preachers became prominent and occupied important political positions during the years of Negro supremacy. For instance, in the constitutional convention of South Carolina, at the beginning of carpet-bag rule, there were seven colored preachers out of fifty-seven colored delegates,[46] and a colored preacher by the name of Cain was one of South Carolina's congressmen at this time.[47] And also one of the only two colored men who ever became members of the United States Senate was a colored preacher, one Rev. Hiram R. Revels, from Mississippi.[48] The other colored United States Senator was Blanche K. Bruce, also of Mississippi.

## III.

There remains yet for us to discuss the position of the Church on the question of political reconstruction.

It would be natural to expect that the Methodist Church, having been an extremely loyal church during the war, should at the close of the war take an extremely radical position on the question of reconstruction. And this is exactly what happened. In fact, nowhere have I found a more bitter denunciation of the South, or a more extreme vindictiveness toward those lately in rebellion than that expressed by the leaders in the Church and by the Church press. Especially was this spirit manifest after the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. Even Bishop Simpson, in his funeral oration[49] over the body of the martyred president, delivered here in Springfield, is not entirely free from this spirit and says, toward its close, "Let every man who was a senator or representative in Congress and who aided in beginning this rebellion and thus led to the slaughter of our sons and daughters, be brought to speedy and certain punishment. Let every officer educated at public expense, who having been advanced to position, has perjured himself and turned his sword against the vitals of his country be doomed to this. * * * . Men may attempt to compromise and to restore these traitors

[45] New York East Conference Minutes, 1865, pp. 41-42.
[46] "Voice from South Carolina." Leland.
[47] Proceedings of South Carolina Constitutional Convention, pp. 522-525.
[48] Schouler, Vol. VII, p. 170 (foot-note).
[49] Christian Advocate (New York), May 11, 1865. Gives the funeral oration of Bishop Simpson in full.

and murderers in society again, but the American people will arise in their majesty and sweep all such compromises and compromisers away, and will declare that there shall be no peace to rebels." The resolutions passed by the Boston Methodist preachers' meeting, at their first meeting following the death of Lincoln, are equally vindictive. "Never," they declare, "will the nation feel its sense of honor and justice vindicated until the leaders of this unprovoked and wicked rebellion shall have suffered condign punishment, the penalty of death." And they further resolve that "we hold the national authority bound by the most solemn obligation to God and to man, to bring all the civil and military leaders of the rebellion to trial by due course of law, and when they are clearly convicted, to execute them."[50]

The Methodist press generally supported the early acts of President Johnson's administration,[51] but no journals were quicker to question his later acts and motives than the Church papers, and Congressional reconstruction found no more loyal supporters than the Methodist editors, and other Church leaders. The editor of the Western Christian Advocate of Cincinnati has this to say of President Johnson's reconstruction policy in an editorial at the time of the convening of Congress in December, 1865: "The experience of the President in the exercise of a broad and even excessive magnanimity, seems not to have been more satisfactory to him in the end, than it was to many of us in the beginning."[52] And the editor of the New York Advocate, at the time of the New Orleans riot, begins a long editorial with, "Among the severest chastisements that Divine Providence inflicts upon sinning nations, is giving them incompetent, obstinate and violent rulers."[53] And then the editorial proceeds to lay the blame for the riot and the bloodshed at the President's door. In the next issue of this same journal, the President again comes in for a scathing rebuke, in an editorial entitled, "The Nation's Peril."[54]

As the contest between the President and Congress became more and more bitter, the Methodist papers became more and more open in their hostility to President Johnson. Commenting, in January, 1868, on the removal of two Union generals from commands in the South, one Methodist editor remarks: "Unless reasons more plausible than any that have hitherto been adduced, shall be furnished for this act, it will add a still darker hue to the reputation of the chief magistrate of this nation."[55] And when the news came that President Johnson was impeached, this editor exultingly announces at the beginning of an editorial entitled, "Impeachment": "Andrew Johnson is impeached before the Senate of the United States for high crimes and misdemeanors. * * * He has at last * * * boldly set at defiance the laws of the land. * * * Our readers will remember how the beastly drunkenness of Mr. Johnson, three years ago at Louisville and Cincinnati and Washington on the day of inauguration, was denounced in our columns, and how we begged the people forthwith to demand his resignation. His moral

[50] Minutes of the Boston Methodist Preachers' Meeting (Mss.), April 24, 1865.
[51] Western Christian Adv., June 14, 1865.
[52] Western Christian Advocate, December 6, 1865.
[53] Christian Adv. (New York), August 30, 1866.
[54] Ibid., September 6, 1866. See still another editorial in the issue of October 4, 1866, on "The Issues Before the Country."
[55] Western Christian Adv., January 8, 1865.

corruption has ever made him a disgrace to the nation."[56] How much of this righteous indignation is due to Mr. Johnson's supposed habits, or to disgust at his reconstruction policy, would be hard to determine.

On one occasion, when Bishop Ames was presiding at the Indiana conference in the fall of 1867, in Indianapolis, a retired Methodist preacher was making a fervent speech, bearing upon his long experience in the ministry, and in the course of his remarks said, "I would rather be a Methodist preacher than to be President of the United States." Just at that juncture Bishop Ames, who had been a strenuous supporter of the Union during the war, said in his piping voice, "Most anybody else would, than the kind of president we've got now." This remark brought out the most boisterous laughter, and so long did it continue that the old brother could not finish his speech.[57]

Such bold statements of political opinion, as we have noticed, both in the Methodist press and on the platform, is evidence in itself, that the Methodist Church in the North was practically a unit on the question of political reconstruction, and in their opposition to President Johnson. If there had been a divided opinion in the Church on this issue, such bold statements as I have given, would not have been reiterated again and again, and there would have appeared some protest. But nowhere have I been able to find even a breath of protest.

## IV.

In conclusion I wish first of all to draw some rather general conclusions in regard to the influence of the Church on the politics of the period, and then to observe in a couple of instances the influences of the Church over important individuals during the reconstruction period.

After the evidence which we have just read, I think I am safe in observing that at the close of the war the Methodist Episcopal Church was practically a unit in favor of the radical or Congressional reconstruction policies. They favored such policies because they had felt strongly on the question of slavery and the war, and a feeling of vindictiveness toward the South was the natural result. Second, the Methodist Church exerted political influence of no small power in the South, as we have already pointed out, through its missionary operations among the Negroes especially, and thirdly, the political influence of the Methodist Church in the North was perhaps stronger at this period than it had ever been before or since, and it is a rather significant fact that both General Grant and President Hayes were Methodists.

And now in closing I wish to call brief attention to some interesting personal relations which seem to me significant. One of the most interesting of such relationships was that existing between President Grant and Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman. As already noted, Dr. Newman was the most influential man sent into the South by the Methodist Episcopal Church at the close of the war, and his positions on Southern questions were as might be expected, extremely radical, and he was not at all reluctant in letting his opinions be known. During President Grant's administrations, Dr. Newman became pastor of the church in Washington attended by the Grant family, and with them and especially with

[56] Western Christian Adv., March 4, 1868.
[57] This incident occurred September 14, 1867. Recollections of Dr. H. A. Gobin.

the President, he became very intimate. Dr. George F. Shrady, who was one of the consulting surgeons during the last illness of Grant, and who had opportunity of seeing these two men often together, observes that "There could be no doubt of a great bond of sympathy between these two men, who from long association, understood each other perfectly,"[58] and while General Grant was at Mt. McGregor, Dr. Newman was in more or less constant attendance, and it was there that he on one occasion, when they thought the General was dying, administered to him the sacrament of baptism[59] and received him into membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Knowing the susceptibility of General Grant to be influenced by men for whom he had a personal liking, and knowing Dr. Newman's position and strong feeling on the question of Southern reconstruction, and knowing that the success of his Church in the South depended more or less upon the triumph of radical reconstruction, I can hardly escape the conclusion, that Dr. Newman had something to do with determining General Grant's personal attitude.

Another interesting personal relationship was that between Dr. Newman and the Logans. Mrs. Logan especially was a staunch Methodist and was a great admirer of Dr. Newman. Speaking of him in her Reminiscences, recently published, she says: "His sermons were, without exception, full of inspired language. * * * He was a large man with a big head full of brains. * * * He was intensely patriotic and courageous, and there was never any doubt as to the meaning of his utterances. He was devoted to General Grant, and losing all patience with General Grant's detractors, he was ever ready to defend him valiantly." Mrs. Logan says that when President Hayes, himself a Methodist, became President, he refused to attend the Metropolitan Church, where Dr. Newman was the pastor, because General Grant attended that church, and Dr. Newman was always defending Grant and all the "skulduggery" of his administration.[60] It was Dr. Newman, also, who was at the deathbed of General Logan,[61] as he had been in constant attendance at the deathbed of his chief, General Grant.

It is very interesting, if not significant, that this minister, Dr. Newman, afterwards Bishop Newman, should have had such close personal relationships with these two public men, both of whom played such an important role in the reconstruction of the Southern States.

As suggested at the outstart, this paper is simply meant to be suggestive, rather than conclusive, though I am convinced that the lines of investigation here indicated so imperfectly, would yield, if followed, direct clarification to the period under consideration, as well as illuminating and interesting sidelights.

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[58] "General Grant's Last Days," by Geo. F. Shrady, M.D., Century, June, 1908, p. 276.
[59] Ibid.
[60] "Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife." By Mrs. John A. Logan, pp. 369-370.
[61] Ibid., p. 430.

Kaskaskia, in 1893. Later Floods have greatly changed the Island.

# DESTRUCTION OF KASKASKIA BY THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

(By J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.)

Historical societies generally confine their efforts to the preservation of the records of community development, but in some rare instances Mother Nature has violently taken it upon herself to ruin her own handiwork, such as happened when the mighty Mississippi River moved its bed from its old-time course and in spite of engineering obstructions, wandered away in a far different direction, causing the destruction of hundreds of acres of valuable lands, together with the well known and important historical town of Kaskaskia. Other rivers have been known to wander away from their ancient courses. Chinese records tell us that the Yellow River changed its course nine times in twenty-five centuries, and that in 1851 to 1853, it went hundreds of miles across the country, abandoning the old channel and making a new mouth to the sea, five hundred miles distant from its former outlet. We have nothing on our continent to compare with this tremendous change of water courses,[1] but the events to be described well deserve to be pictured and recorded in the annals of Illinois, not only for the benefit of its own inhabitants but for the instruction of the entire northwest. Comparatively few people anywhere in the world have as yet been accurately informed concerning this remarkable catastrophe.

The waters of the great Missouri River unite with the mighty Mississippi a few miles above St. Louis, and this magnificent river begins at once to acquire the peculiar characteristics of the Missouri, in that it then flows for the most of its course through an alluvial valley, from the mouth of the Missouri River to the ledges of rock above Thebes, which valley is known as the American Bottom. The geological characteristics of the American Bottom can be tolerably well imagined by careful geologists, but their imaginations do not fully satisfy present day students as to its actual origin.

We are told that in the distant past, enormous bodies of water flowed from north to south through this ancient valley, which was formerly an immense bed of solid stone. Ages of washing and cutting through this rock, hollowed out the tremendous channel through which the current poured for unknown centuries. The evidences of such action appear to be plainly visible in the almost perpendicular stone walls of these two lines of beautiful bluffs, the front faces of which are from one

[1] Changes of the courses of rivers have occasionally happened in America. In 1904 the Colorado River largely left its channel near the line between Mexico and Arizona, mainly owing to a diversion of its water to irrigation purposes. During the years 1904, 1905 and 1906 these waters poured into the remarkable basin known as the Salton Sea, which was two hundred seventy-three feet below the level of the Pacific Ocean, cutting wide and deep channels through the silt and soft soil, increasing the area of the lake by over one thousand square miles, and raising the level of this large body over ninety feet. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company expended large sums of money in the remarkably difficult operation of closing the channel of the runaway river, to the amount of over one million dollars. Smithsonian Report for 1907, 331 to 345.

hundred to two hundred feet in height. There are no present day evidences of the sources of such tremendous currents as must have flowed through this valley, except the fact that no other known power could possibly have eroded a channel of such great proportions as now exists between these tremendous cliffs of lime stone, which are on an average about four miles apart. The sources of this immense current must have proceeded from enormous floods of water which nature somehow furnished in her own way.

An alluvial deposit with a marvelously fertile surface, partly prairie and partly timber, now lies in this valley, overlying a rock floor varying in depth in its upper portion from eighty to ninety feet on the west side, to considerably over one hundred feet on the east side, as has been demonstrated by the construction of bridge piers at St. Louis and by different borings. Thru this soft alluvial soil the mighty river of the past has, for an unknown period, taken its course, sometimes bathing the eastern shores and at others reaching the foot of the bluffs at the western side. At present it is washing the rocky east bluffs of the State of Missouri nearly all of the way from St. Louis to St. Genevieve. There are several lakes and lake beds in this alluvial valley, showing that at some time in the past the river probably meandered and wandered wildly. One of these lakes a few miles northwest of Prairie DuRocher is called Conner Lake, and it is said by tradition that some of the stone used in the walls of ancient Fort Chartres were boated across from rock quarries at the bluffs. This lake has been drained into the Mississippi River, and several other lakes now have artificial outlets.

The St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad carries the traveler from East St. Louis to Chester, in places, thru almost the very center of this magnificently fertile valley, in other parts, within a short distance from the eastern line of bluffs. A ride over this line in the latter part of October is full of exciting enjoyment. Apart from the historic associations of almost every mile of the road, crowding on the mind in a never ending succession, the eye is charmed by the changing scenery on every hand. Many of the bluffs are partially evergreen, as beautiful cedars grow on some of the most picturesque positions, while white or cream colored perpendicular bluffs are mingled with weather-stained ledges of varying brightness of color.

Openings in the walls prove that rain or spring water and creeks come down occasionally from the higher lands back from the line of bluffs. The autumn colors of maple, oak and other foliages mingled with the dark evergreens, furnish a panorama of ever changing beauty. The charm of the ride is enhanced by the occasional glimpse of an ancient Indian mound. Some of the highest bluffs, which are nicely tapered off, as if carved by human hands to the very tops, are holding an unknown number of nearly square shaped, ancient, stone burial crypts[2], which are scattered among the venerable mounds. Let us hope that here, at

[2] These burial places consist generally of pits about three and one-half feet square lined at the sides by thin slabs of stone. The bodies were buried, not deeply, in bent or sitting position. This method of burial is not common in this State, but it was practiced quite generally in regions southwest of Illinois. On very many of the tapering hill tops of these bluffs may be found these peculiar graves.

Map of the Country of the Illinois, date, 1796, from Collot's voyage.

Northern Section of the Ross Map, 1765. St. Genevieve is designated by the name Misére.

least, a few of these remarkable monuments[3] of a vanished race may be permanently preserved in this beautiful valley of historic memories.

At the northern end of the valley, near the present railroad station DuPont (now printed Dupo in the railroad tables), are several very fine mounds plainly visible from the railroad. On Collot's 1796 map of this region, the lower part of which is republished in this paper, these mounds are called "Ancient Indian Tombs," and the locality is properly printed "Prairie DuPont."

At one place a few miles from Prairie DuRocher, on the way to St. Genevieve, in 1879, I saw three very large and very remarkable mounds. Upon one stands a farmhouse apparently above the highest floods. A cattle yard occupies a second in close proximity, while the third is near enough to become a valuable refuge in case of high water.

A feeling of awe steals over the mind as one reflects that in early ages this valley and the adjacent hills must have been the homes of these pre-historic tribes or nations, whose records are utterly lost, except such as are imperfectly chronicled by our industrious archaeological friends, whose studies in and around this valley on both sides of the river are among the most instructive in the whole United States.

Cahokia, Prairie DuPont, Prairie DuRocher and other historical places are passed in rapid succession; and crossing the Okaw River about three or four miles above the point where the Mississippi River now meets it, we begin to reach the region where we wish to investigate the causes of the destruction of the town of Kaskaskia. At least three sudden changes in the course of the Mississippi River have occurred since the American Bottom began to be the home of the first French settlers. The first one took place at Cahokia, which town was started on fairly high ground at its present location, about the year 1700[4], but which was seriously threatened with destruction in the year 1704, at which time the river altered its course over a mile and came near forcing the inhabitants to move; but the fickle stream changed its mind and ever since has behaved itself at that point remarkably well.

Fort Chartres[5] was constructed in 1753 and was the means of the upbuilding of the village of St. Anne, outside of its walls. It was so seriously threatened in 1772 by the encroachment of the river which ruined its southwest wall that all of its cannon and military stores were removed to Fort Gage. The treacherous river soon retreated to its old bed, but the fort was never reoccupied and the village of St. Anne lived but a short time longer.

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[3] Very few or none of the remarkable archaeological monuments and remains of this valley have been mapped and described by the Illinois Historical Society, while the Missouri Historical Society has been careful to investigate these matters quite thoroly on the Missouri side of the river, and the same society has also done very important work of this description on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River. The cataloged remains which the society found in the famous Montezuma Mound near the bank of the Illinois River in Pike County, are among the most remarkable in the United States.

[4] Dr. J. F. Snyder says in a private letter, "I wish the Illinois State Historical Society would institute a commission to thoroly investigate the dates of the founding of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and definitely settle the matter, so as to leave no room for further controversy on that point. I have devoted much research to that question and my conclusion is that the definite settlement of Cahokia by Indians and Canadian French was in 1698, and that Kaskaskia's origin was in 1700."

[5] It appears the river early began to change its channel towards the fort because we are told by Wallace (Illinois and Lousiana, p. 316) that as early as 1758 the river was but eighty paces away; but the capricious stream afterwards commenced filling its new channel and the fort was occupied until the great overflow of 1772, at which time its cannon, military stores and soldiers were removed to Fort Gage at Kaskaskia, which was not on top of the bluffs opposite, as many have believed, but was at the village of Kaskaskia.

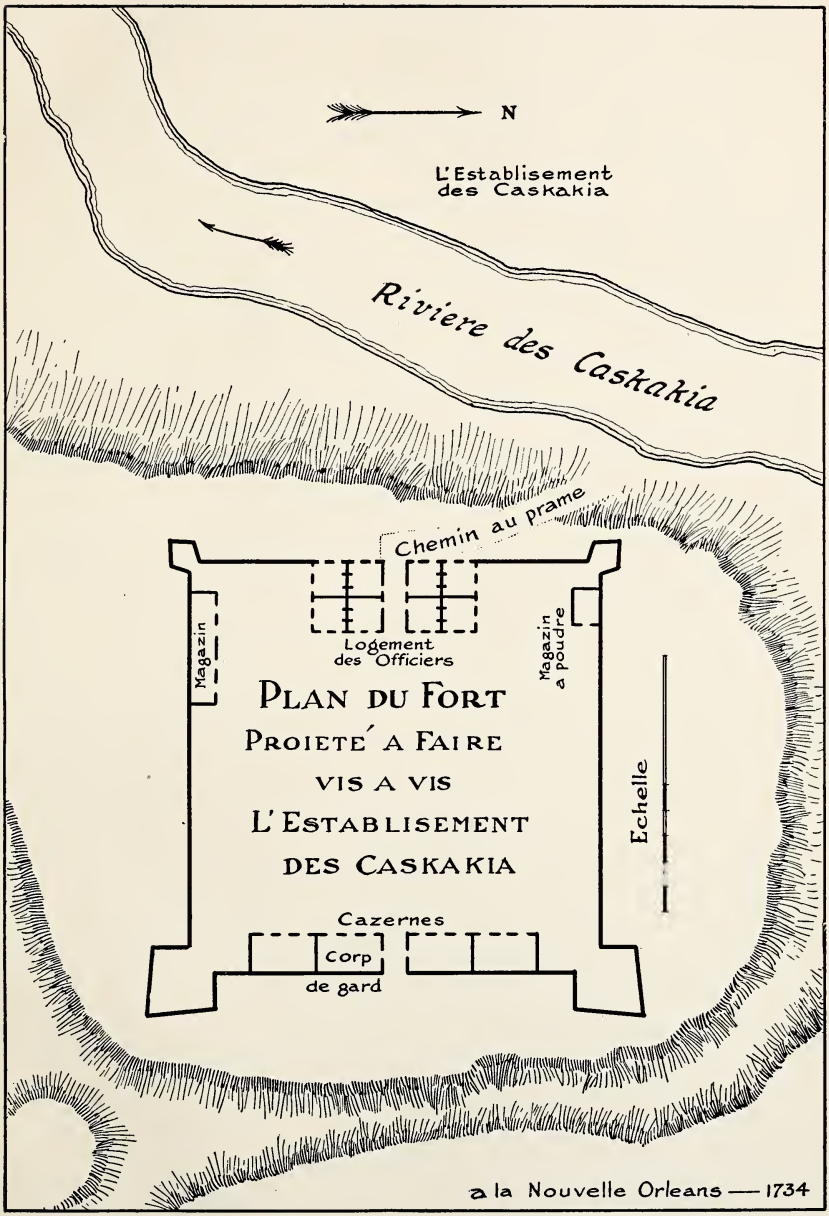
The zig-zag course of the lower Mississippi below Cairo and elsewhere, should have been sufficient warning to the early settlers of Kaskaskia; and with the well known records of its great floods of 1726, 1785, 1844 and others, we are left to wonder why the town site was continued at that particular location. Perhaps the fact, that boats of that day could come up to Kaskaskia at any stage of the river, and that river craft could remain in comparative safety there during the icy winter months, may have been what decided the Kaskaskians to remain until the soil of their town site was ready to be dissolved and to leave their streets and alleys where, since the great catastrophe, they are charted, in the bottom of the Mississippi River.

Through the cordial assistance of Judge Walter B. Douglas, of the Missouri Historical Society, I obtained the hearty and enthusiastic cooperation of the officials in charge of the United States Mississippi River Commission at St. Louis, who placed all of the maps and plats of the commission at my service. These were examined and inspected as far back as the year previous to 1881, when the union of the two rivers took place.

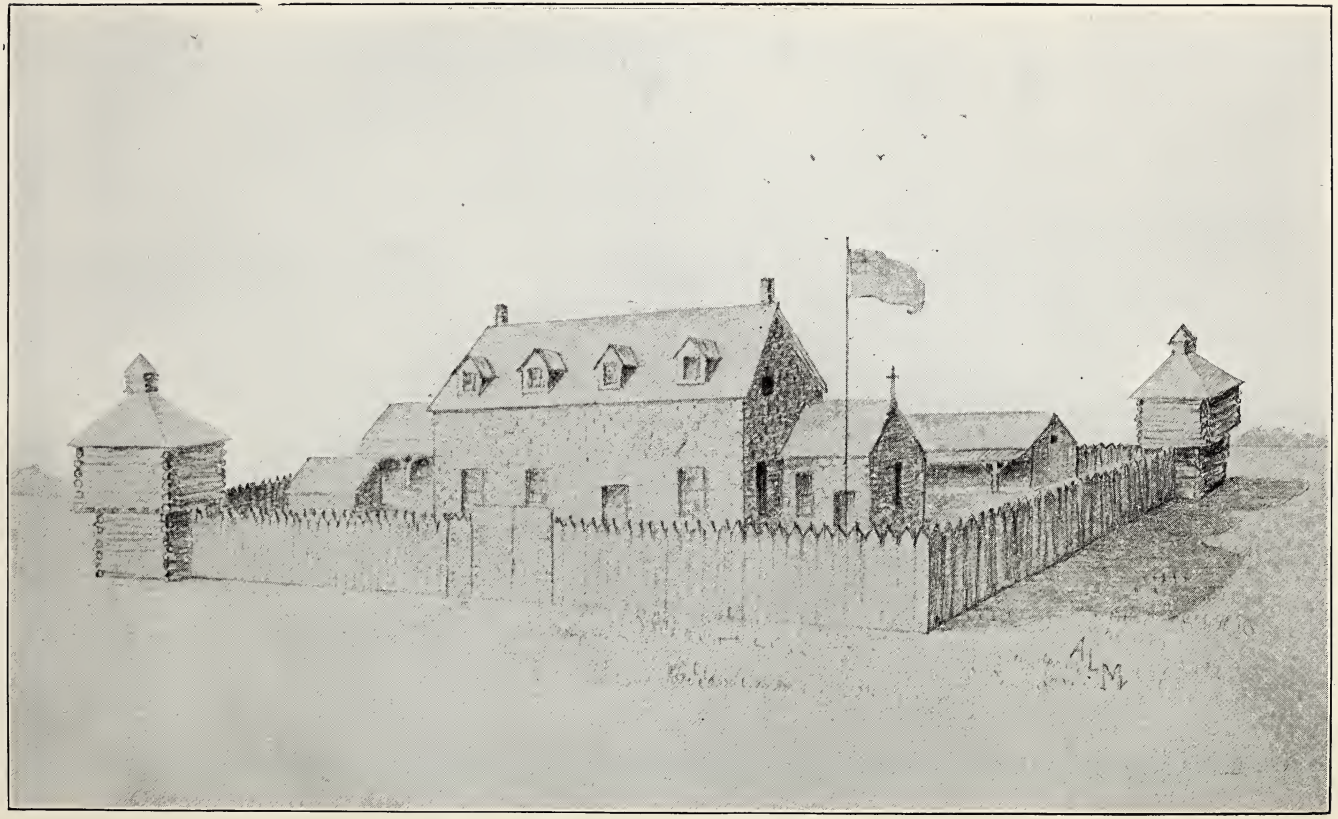
Under the advice and assistance of these officials in the office of the commission, I decided to have two new plats constructed from their official documents; the first of which exhibits the river's condition in 1880, while the second shows the later channel as it existed in 1913. It appeared best to connect as far as possible, without too much labor, the territory on both sides of the Mississippi between the present town of St. Genevieve and the old mouth of the Kaskaskia near Chester. The line of bluffs on each side of the American Bottom is thus plainly indicated. Places on the Missouri side are also marked, adding greatly to the value of these maps. The true latitude and longitude of the area included is given and the maps are constructed with geographical accuracy; and at the same time they furnish us with very much historical information, and they are most admirably executed.

The area, formerly known as the Kaskaskia Commons, and Kaskaskia Island, a very large and immensely fertile district, is to be largely embraced within a large drainage and levee district, and within a few years will become one of the most desirable[6] agricultural regions in the west. The contrast between the past history of this region and its probable future history will be almost as striking as the difference between our early Indian corn patches and our most highly improved agricultural districts. The 1913 map will give a tolerably correct idea of this future

[6] At the time of our society's annual meeting in May, 1914, a paper was read, erroneously entitled on the program, "Old and New Kaskaskia". This paper was written by Harry W. Roberts of Chester, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and the correct title of the same is "The Commons of Kaskaskia". Mr. Roberts has long been engaged in the business of abstracter of land titles in Randolph County, and his experience with the ancient records and exceptionally complicated descriptions of the old French claims and surveys in this, the earliest settled region of Illinois, enables him to furnish the society with accurate information concerning this subject. He has made a thoro and exhaustive investigation of these lands for the Kaskaskia Island Drainage and Levee District, now being inaugurated, which qualifies him to speak with authority. This district will contain over 11,000 acres, and is being organized under the provisions of an Act of the Legislature passed in 1909. Mr. Roberts has had a careful re-survey made by the County Surveyor of Randolph County of what remains of the original town site of Old Kaskaskia, and an accurate plat will be drawn covering the results of this survey for the use of the society. This plat will include the entire site within the boundaries as determined by the United States Government surveyors about 1812, and will be based on the County Surveyor's plat made in 1873, showing all lots, blocks and streets and historic localities, and the present course of the Mississippi River thru the corporation. The remnant of old Kaskaskia is also marked on our newly published plat of the river in 1913. Unfortunately the pressure of other duties has prevented Mr. Roberts from completing his monograph relating to the Kaskaskia Commons and therefore this important paper must be deferred for the society's next volume of its transactions.




Fort de Kaskakias, 1734. (Archives du Ministere des Colonies.)



Fort Gage in Kaskaskia. Fortified Jesuit College.

project[7], that is, by remembering that the new drainage and levee district is between the "old channel" and the present Mississippi River.

The plats exhibited here show that the old town of St. Genevieve, Missouri, which was settled as early as 1735[8], was first located on the banks of the Mississippi about four miles below the present site of the town at the edge of "LeGrande Champ," or the Big Field, as it is called by present day Americans. This old French-Spanish town was thus situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, only seven or eight miles in a straight line from Kaskaskia, and during the whole period of the American Revolution it was the Mecca to which a stream of emigration continually flowed from the French villages of the American side. During the high water of 1785, which is said to have been fully equal or superior to the flood of 1844, and according to Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, old St. Genevieve was so badly injured that its inhabitants migrated almost in a body to the present beautiful site of the town on high land, and thus avoided a worse fate, which would certainly have occurred at a later date, had they followed the example of the Kaskaskians in remaining on the overflowed lands of the American Bottom.

Perhaps the fact that there was no convenient town site on the narrow strip of land on the eastern side of the Kaskaskia under the immediate protection of Fort Kaskaskia, which was built in 1734 on top of Garrison Hill, decided the Kaskaskians to remain at the low lying site which was never a suitable place for a town. The high water of 1844 was eight feet deep at Kaskaskia village, and the water of 1785 is said to have been higher.

A highway and two railroads now traverse this narrow strip between the bluffs and the river, and the two railroad stations there are called Fort Gage, instead of Kaskaskia. In the April number of our Journal for 1913, Dr. J. F. Snyder, one of the most careful and accurate of our Illinois historians, by the most unmistakable authority, tells us that Fort Gage was never located on the east side of the river on the bluff, but that it was always at Kaskaskia, having been constructed at the site of the old Jesuit stone building, which was with some changes, turned into a fort and called Fort Gage. This location is now identified as having been a part of block 28 of the old town according to our Chester map maker, which map will sometime be published. The cut furnished in the Journal of April, 1913, shows the construction of Fort Gage at Kaskaskia and is published herewith, together with the fine illustration of Fort Kaskaskia on the top of Garrison Hill, opposite Kaskaskia and just above Fort Gage station, both of which were prepared by Dr. J. F. Snyder for our April Journal of 1911.

The name of this station, if not changed, will make it almost impossible for our society to correct the well established historical error as to the actual location of Fort Gage. It will be necessary to ask the railroad

[7] The river plat of 1913 shows the corner of old Kaskaskia, which in October, 1913, had not been destroyed or washed away. There were indications at that time that the fickle stream had stopped its work of destruction, tho even at this very present time the "remnant" may not have remained. If it is still in existence, it forms a starting point for the town of New Kaskaskia, which has been largely organized by the annexation of a long strip of territory reaching from the old town to the new town site, where several blocks and streets have been laid out at a point over one mile distant from the edge of the old town. The new church and schoolhouse and village at that place, New Kaskaskia, are near the point marked on our plat of 1913.

[8] Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 97-98.

company, in fact, two railroad companies, to change the name of the station from Fort Gage to Kaskaskia, for the sake of correct history.

Rocher, pronounced by brakemen as spelled, was the name first given to Prairie DuRocher by the railroad company, and it required quite an effort from its citizens before the company was willing to give the station its longer historic name. Let us then resolve that the Illinois State Historical Society will request the Iron Mountain & Southern, and the Illinois Southern Railroad to rename Fort Gage and assist us in our effort to thoroly eradicate an important historical error.

In the April number of the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Dr. J. F. Snyder, a vigilant and careful student of Illinois History, gives us an indisputable record of the true location of the historic Fort Gage at the town site of old Kaskaskia, and also of the real Fort Kaskaskia, situated on the bluff opposite the old town. This is accompanied by cuts which plainly show all essential points. These cuts are published herewith, and this paper is illustrated still further by a plan of Fort Kaskaskia on the bluff, prepared from an actual survey made in 1895 by Mr. H. W. Beckwith, the first president of the Illinois Historical Society. The plan of Kaskaskia, to be published with Mr. H. W. Roberts' future paper, will show the location of Fort Gage, on block 28 of the old town, and these different cuts and descriptions appear to be needed in order to fully and completely illustrate our points. Altho Mr. Beckwith's illustration of old Fort Kaskaskia calls it Fort Gage, yet in all other instances where he refers to this fort he calls it "the so-called Fort Gage."

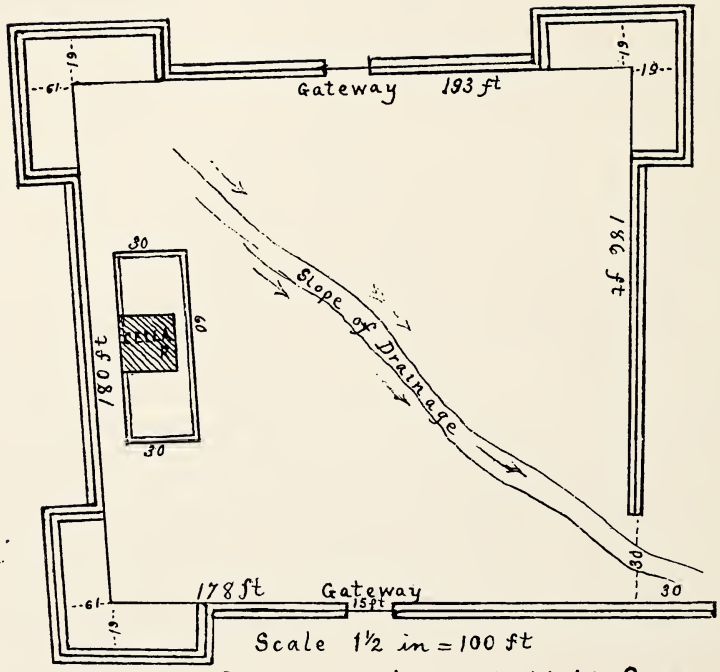
I have not learned when the Mississippi began to make its move from the Missouri shore at St. Genevieve towards its final connection with the Kaskaskia above the ill-fated town. In 1863, when I embarked at St. Genevieve on the Steamer Illinois, with a portion of the army of southeast Missouri, bound for the region about Vicksburg, there was a good steamboat landing at St. Genevieve. In December, 1867, I was detained several days on a steamer a mile or two below St. Genevieve. The river channel had then moved away from the town and the boat was about to be frozen into the ice for the winter, being grounded in the shoaling water. In December, 1879, I drove from Prairie Du Rocher to Kaskaskia, and when near the old Governor Bond stone mansion, a short distance above Kaskaskia, I was astonished to learn that but for the efforts which had just been made by the Mississippi River Commission, the Mississippi would probably have broken thru into the Okaw River at the time of the last high water, and as it was then within half a mile of the smaller stream, it might perhaps force a passage at the next overflow. From that time to the present I have been exceedingly interested in everything relating to that remarkable freak of nature, which occurred on April 18, 1881.[9]

During the winter of 1880 and 1881, there was an unusually heavy fall of snow in northern Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Railroad

[9] Some have wondered why the change which took place in 1881 had not been duplicated at some previous high water many years ago. No one can give reasons for all of the vagaries of the Mississippi, but it must be remembered that the main channel of the river ran much nearer to the Missouri shore at St. Genevieve previous to February, 1881, and that this channel had then moved over nearer to the Illinois shore. It can be easily understood that had the channel remained where it was formerly, the ice flood of 1881 might have moved away peacefully; and the high water of that year might have taken the course of previous floods, and have followed the old bed around St. Mary's, and left the Okaw to follow its original course.

Fort Kaskaskia, 1736-1759. As seen from West Bank of Kaskaskia River.

River Front, opposite
Kaskaskia




Earth work lines of old Ft Gage
On the high bluff East & across the river
from Kaskaskia Ill
As surveyed by H.W. Beckwith & Son
April – – 1895

travel in these states was very generally interrupted. The ice was also remarkably heavy in the Mississippi River from St. Louis to Cairo. The river commission had been attempting for several years to control the river in the interest of navigation, up to the fall of 1880, and with great difficulty and heavy cost had held the river channel from connecting with the Okaw by the construction of protection piers and other obstructions. But the remarkably heavy ice of the following winter, 1880 and 1881, caused the river current to penetrate behind the engineer's protections, and the government officer's report, an extract from which follows, graphically describes what happened.

Capt. O. H. Ernst, of the United States Engineering Corps, in his report to his superior, Brigadier General H. S. Wright, written June 30, 1881, says:

"During the severe winter which followed these operations, ice formed in the river, varying from one to two feet in thickness. On the tenth of February, 1881, the river rose eight feet in St. Louis, the most extraordinary rise in a single day on record. The enormous forces developed by this rise were disastrous to the work. Great fields of heavy ice thrown against the outer portions of the hurdledike promptly destroyed that portion. The ice soon gorged in the channel south of St. Genevieve Island about four miles above Kaskaskia Bend, forcing a large body of water down the north chute. This chute was rapidly enlarged and the dike attacked in the rear. The ice gorging between the chute and the northern Illinois shore, a deep channel was cut through the foot of the dike between the latter and St. Genevieve Island. The water rapidly arose above the dike, and the latter, what is left of it, has been submerged ever since. It is probably almost wholly, if not wholly destroyed. The direct protection suffered severely also, standing as it does really at right angles to the direction by which the stream approaches from above, it was exposed to such assaults as immense fields of ice two feet thick could cause, moving with a velocity of seven or eight miles an hour. A field of this character striking the shore seemed checked for a moment, but it was presently observed to be moving slowly up the bank, carrying a slice of the bank protection with it. Many layers were piled up over each other on top of the bank thirty feet above low water. In this manner a part of the bank which was above the water surface was stripped of its protection. As this enabled the river to cut in behind the mattress at the foot of the slope, it is probable that most of this work is destroyed. The prolonged high water of this spring has rendered it impracticable to ascertain with accuracy what the condition of it is. After the ice had done its work of destruction the river rose steadily with but few and slight oscillations until the latter part of April it rose above the banks and there was a flood, the overflow concentrating in a slight depression in the strip of land which separated the Kaskaskia River from the Mississippi, forming a stream which poured into the former river with a fall of about six feet. The overfall soon cut a deep hole in the soft alluvial soil which constitutes the river bed, and then began the process of cutting back towards the Mississippi, with which a junction was soon formed. This cut was opposite the lower end of the work, upon which further damage was inflicted.

A deep excavation approaching the revetment from the rear totally destroyed it thruout the width of the cut. The cut is now about 500 feet wide and 30 feet deep, when the Mississippi River is at a 22-foot stage. There has been no enlargement as yet of the Kaskaskia River below the cut."

The report[10] goes on to show that great damage is threatened and that to turn the mighty river back from its new course will be a tremendous undertaking. It says further that the river must be straightened, or it might force a passage at the next overflow.

While this great torrent was pouring through the bed of the Kaskaskia, it must be remembered that this narrow stream could not at once carry off the flood flowing down the valley at this high stage of water, and that the greater width and depth of the old channel was taking care of much the larger share of the onrushing flood. All the widening and deepening of the new channel must take place on the side next to Kaskaskia; because at the foot of the high bluff on the other side was a solid stratum of hard rock.[11] Exactly what happened during a few of the next severe overflows, was that all of the widening and deepening took place on the Kaskaskia side of the river, until nearly every vestige of the alluvial site of the ill-fated and historic town has dissolved and melted away and gone towards the Gulf of Mexico.

I consider myself remarkably fortunate in having been able to locate several living reliable witnesses of the wonderful freak of nature which took place on the 18th to the 23d of April, 1881; and part of this good fortune has been owing to having had my mind turned repeatedly to this remarkable occurrence during the past thirty-three years.

These eyewitnesses' accounts are published in full in our Transactions. The following are extracts from the carefully prepared statement by Mr. Gustave Pape, of Chester, who was for many years a merchant of Kaskaskia and who was an eyewitness to the overflow.

## MR. PAPE'S STATEMENT.

"CHESTER, ILL., *September 27, 1913.*

I came from Germany to Kaskaskia Landing, Illinois, with my parents in 1834, having been then eight years old. I lived on a farm nine miles northwest of Kaskaskia on Hill Land, until about 1848, and in 1850 went to clerk for a man in a general store in Kaskaskia, George W. Staley by name. In 1861 I went into partnership with Mr. Staley from 1861 to 1865. In the fall of 1866 I went into business for myself, having bought the brick building in which the old Territorial Legislature used to meet, and where the first State Constitutional Convention met

[10] The engineer's report is too lenghty for publication here, but it goes on to estimate that the river, if not controlled immediately, would probably destroy 2,000 acres of fine farm land, then worth at least fifty dollars per acre, or one hundred thousand dollars, and that probably at least this sum would be needed to control the river channels and that it would even then be a difficult engineering job. Judging by the cost of controlling the Colorado River in 1906, alluded to on a previous page, it is likely the expense of turning the new channel of the Mississippi River would have run into the millions. As the real work of the Mississippi River Commission is to care for the interests of navigation, we are left to conclude that the reason why Congress did not undertake the control of the mighty river was because it could not be satisfied that it was the duty of the United States Government to protect the dying old town of Kaskaskia and two thousand acres of land owned by private individuals.

[11] The Mississippi flows all of the way from Alton to a short distance above old Kaskaskia without touching anywhere on the Illinois shore the rock bottom of its great valley. In many places on the Missouri side the rock actually comes to the surface, and is washed and worn by the river. Just below the point where it broke thru into the Okaw the current strikes rock at the foot of the great rock bluff, and of course the channel must widen itself entirely on the Kaskaskia side where the rock was very far beneath the bed of the river.

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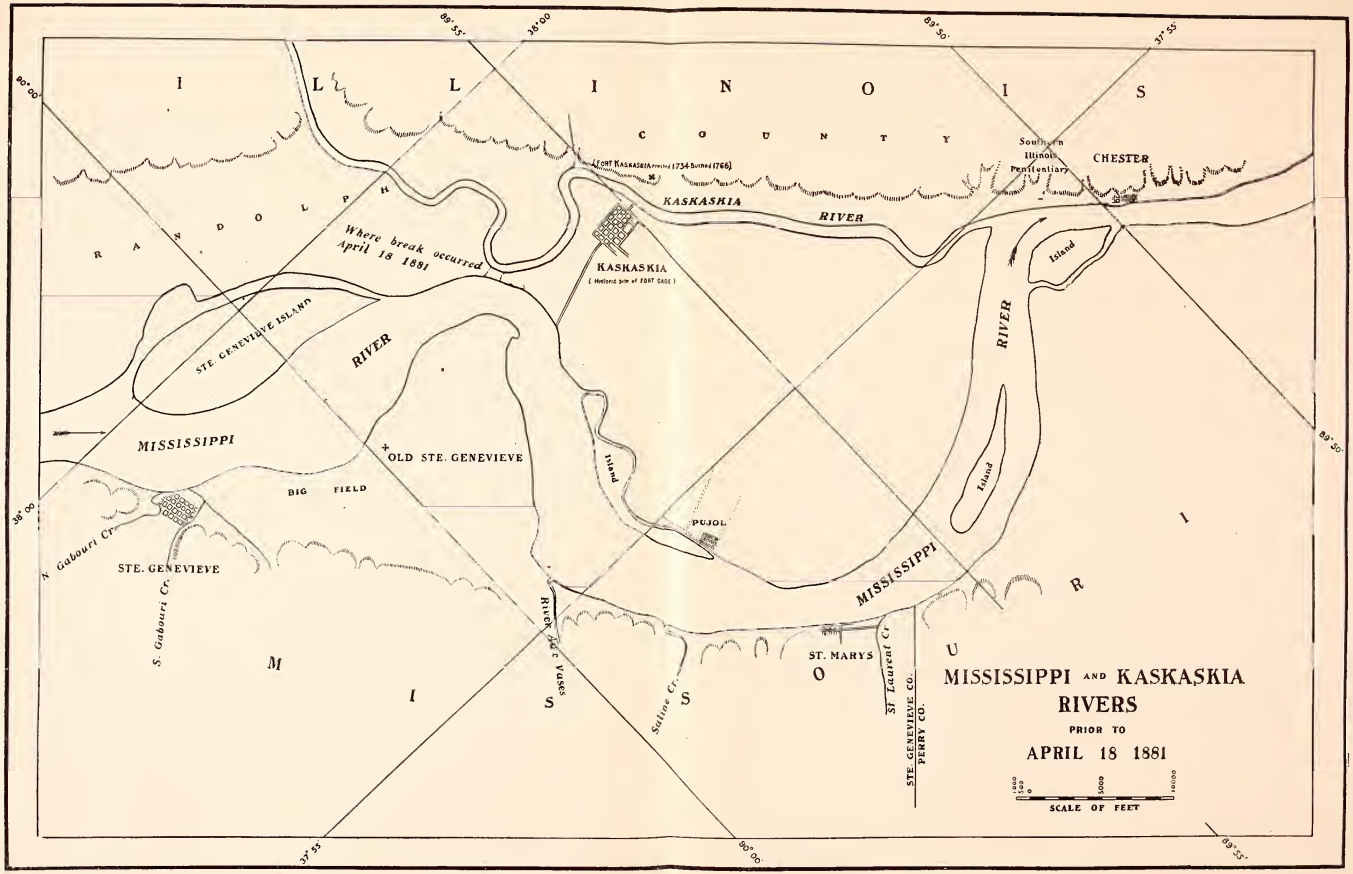


Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers, April 18, 1881.

in 1818. The brick of this building were brought from Pittsburg in 1803. I understand there is a picture of this building in the rooms of the Illinois State Historical Society in Springfield, Illinois.

When the Mississippi River had changed its course below St. Genevieve, and had come within a short distance of the Okaw (Kaskaskia) River, at a point from one and one-half to two miles above Kaskaskia, about the fall of 1879, we all believed there would be danger at the next high water of the Mississippi breaking through into the Okaw, and thus damaging the town. It was at this time within half a mile of the Okaw, and when the high water came, in April, 1881, we were exceedingly anxious as to what might happen. The distance across from river to river was barely 400 feet in April, 1881. The Mississippi River began to run across this narrow neck of land about April 21, 1881.

At first the water ran over the surface, which was loose soil and sand, and which soon began to cut away and form a channel, especially at the lower edge, which was the west bank of the Okaw River. The fall was rather steep, and the land soon began to crumble and go away, making at first not a very wide or deep channel or passageway. Had the Mississippi soon stopped rising, there might not have been a very big channel until another high water would come, because the great current of the Mississippi River was still going around in its old channel, which was wide enough and deep enough to carry the whole river.

It was several days before the cut was very deep, but before long the passage became deeper and wider, and then the force of the Mississippi was terrific. I was there part of the time, when the people were coming from all directions to see the action of the flood. I believe I was there just before the current was deep enough for a steamboat to go through. I wish some one had been there to take a picture of the scene at the time of the greatest effect of the flood. It is my impression that the first steamboat went through in about a week after the stream first began to go over the surface, and it is to be hoped some person may be able to give the exact date when the two rivers became united into one as the result of the high water of 1881.

The new channel was not wide enough or deep enough at first to carry the whole current of both rivers, and it took several high waters to wear away enough of the bottom and sides of the great channel to carry away the whole of the town site of Kaskaskia; but in the course of a number of years, nearly every acre of the old town was carried off. During these years the old channel of the river carried the most of the Mississippi, but finally the whole current could go through and the old channel began to fill up. I am told that at the present time, the Mississippi River being low, it is possible to cross it on a sand-bar and drive a team across from Missouri to Kaskaskia Commons, or rather to that portion of the Commons now left.

The east bank of the present main river is, of course, what was once the east bank of the Okaw River; and as this is a bluff resting on a solid rock bottom, it is but little worn away; and the whole wasting or wearing away has taken place along the west shore. Therefore our dear old town of Kaskaskia has had to vanish, leaving only its memory and important history to console the many friends of old Kaskaskia.

I moved from Kaskaskia to Chester in 1898, at which time most of the town had disappeared, and here I expect to reside for the rest of my life.

GUSTAVAS PAPE."

This remarkable action of the Mississippi River, carrying off only as much water as the narrow bed of the Kaskaskia could accommodate, a bed from 350 to 500 feet in width, perhaps for a year or two, merely threatened the ruin of Kaskaskia, and its total destruction was delayed for several years.

A careful search of the newspaper files of the time convinces one that it was the general belief of the public that the Mississippi might yet conclude to go around the old bend in all stages of water, and that the great losses might be delayed. The St. Louis papers of the months of April and May, 1881, give feeble hints of the disaster at Kaskaskia Bend. The Globe-Democrat of April 28, 1881, has only this meager sketch, while column after column is given to the overflow at East St. Louis and other nearby localities, where tremendous losses were daily occurring:

## THE FLOOD AT KASKASKIA.

"At the ancient city of Kaskaskia the Mississippi has opened an outlet into the Kaw, the tongue of land between the two streams having been growing narrower for many years by the encroachments of the larger stream, until the space between them was only 300 to 400 feet. The present rise in the Mississippi has broken across this narrow peninsula, and a strong current is flowing from the Father of Waters into the Okaw, on the west bank of which stands the old town of Kaskaskia, once the capital of Illinois and the metropolis of the Northwest Territory. Kaskaskia was a populous town long before Laclede landed at St. Louis. It was captured from the British during the Revolution by George Rogers Clark, and was subsequently the home of many distinguished men. Col. Don Morrison is a Kaskaskian by birth, and once owned a great deal of the land there that has gone into the river. The flood of 1844 drove many of the inhabitants from the town, which had suffered from a similar disaster sixty years previously. The present freshet threatens to make a finish of the ancient village, and its site will soon be the swimming-school of the catfish and the kindergarten of the bullfrog."

The Chester papers have preserved no files and the St. Genevieve Fair Play furnishes, on the date of April 30, 1881, this brief announcement:

"The cut at Kaskaskia point has now reached the width of 500 feet with more water coming down. Parties from St. Marys who have visited the cut, report, however, that the suction of water is not near as great at present as when it first broke through. We hear that the Kaskaskians are becoming alarmed and are deserting their ancient village."

The Fair Play of same date quotes as follows from the St. Louis Dispatch of a previous date:

"The pilots of the Ed Richardson, Messrs. Fulkerson and Reed, report that the long expected cutoff at the Okaw River from Kaskaskia Bend, has taken place and a stream 200 yards wide is pouring rapidly

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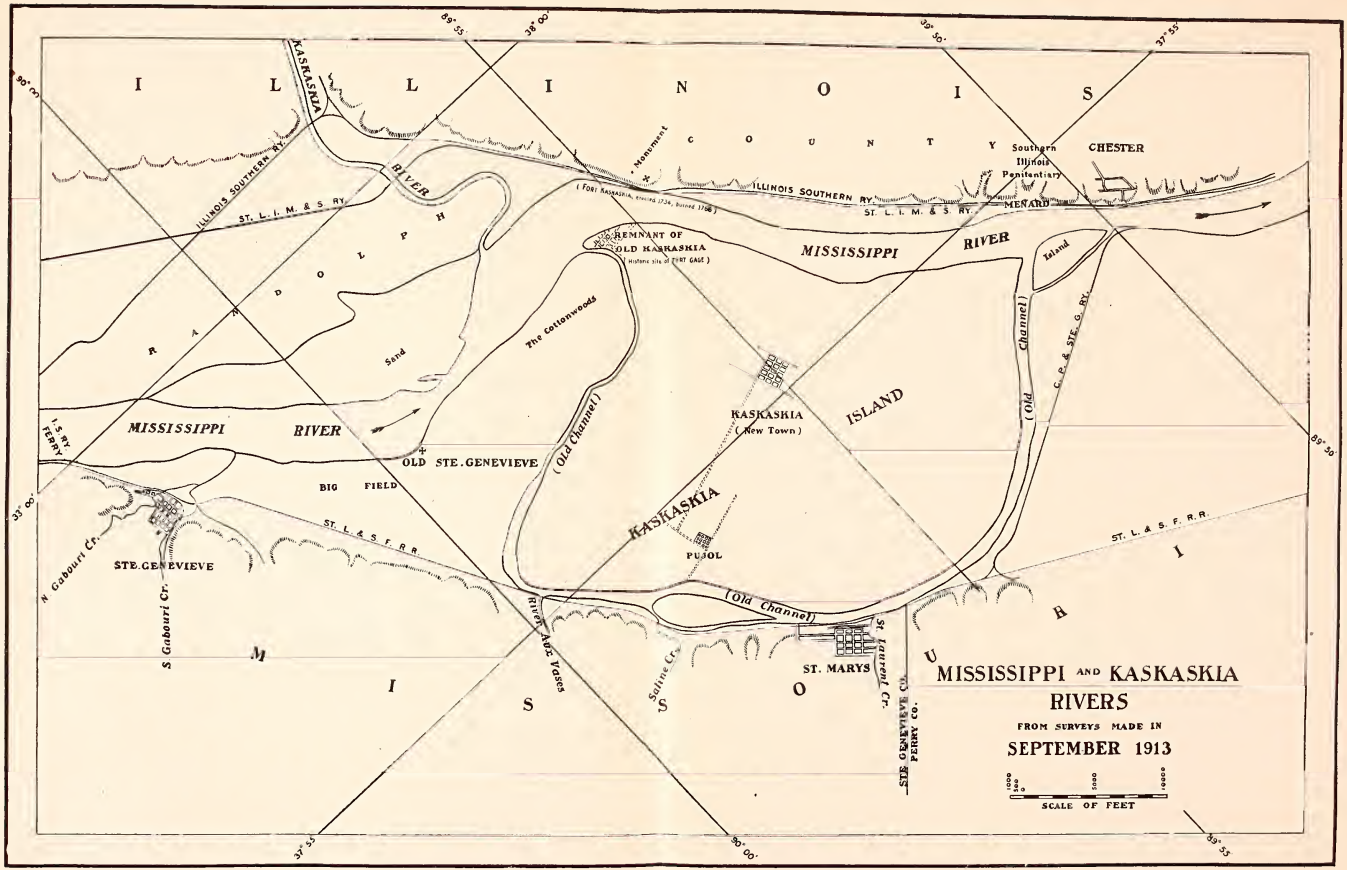



Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers from Survey made in September, 1913.

through the Okaw River and into the Mississippi River, and the distance above Chester will be fully six miles. It leaves the little town of Kaskaskia on an island which is being cut away very fast and will soon be a thing of the past."

If we bear in mind that, notwithstanding the great river had broken into the narrow Okaw, the greater portion of the bottom land above and below Kaskaskia was not by this overflow flooded to the highest water marks in history, it will be seen that even a width of 500 feet could not contain enough water to carry away the town until the Mississippi River had time to scour the bed of the Kaskaskia to the same depth as the old bed around the old channel and until the narrow Okaw had been widened enough to carry the whole of the mighty Mississippi. Therefore, as a matter of course, it must have taken considerable time to deepen and widen this new channel.

Nearly twenty years ago I became acquainted with Mr. J. T. Douglas, of Sparta, County Surveyor of Randolph County, who told me that just at the time of the high water in the month of April, 1881, he accurately measured the difference of levels in the water in the Mississippi and in the Okaw at the point of the overflow and found it was about eight feet, which is nearly two feet greater than the difference estimated by the government engineer in the report[12] quoted, and which did in fact vary from day to day in times of high water. The irresistible force of a fall of water of the Mississippi at flood stage from a height of eight feet, or even six feet, is such a remarkable operation of nature, that a full account of the wonderful event deserves a place in our society's archives.

How many mountain waterfalls, how many brooks, and rivulets, unite to form all of the branches of our mighty rivers? How many creeks and other streams gather themselves to create the great Missouri, and how did the Mississippi furnish a similar quota to form that enormous body which was to fall over such a barrier and plow its way through the strip of solid ground which then lay between the two rushing streams, and which in that fateful month of April became wedded into a mightier stream to flow forever to the Gulf of Mexico? The question is well worthy of our thoughtful meditation.

Mr. John H. Burch, of St. Genevieve, Missouri, eyewitness of the famous overflow, furnished me a carefully prepared description which is fortified by reference to his diary.

## STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN H. BURCH.

"St. Genevieve, Mo., *October 26, 1913.*

"I distinctly remember some of the circumstances of the way the Mississippi River broke through into the Kaskaskia River in 1881. I kept a diary of such events as most impressed me; and I find by reference to this diary, which I have here at hand, that on the 18th and 19th of April, 1881, the Mississippi, by constant encroachment at times of

[12] The engineer's report previously quoted, estimated that the Mississippi had a fall of about six feet at the point of overflow, and does not necessarily conflict with the measurement given by Mr. Douglas, because the stage of water in the Okaw might easily have been lower in April than in February, or the stage of the Mississippi might have been higher in April than in February. The fall of the mighty Mississippi from a height of either eight or six feet would readily furnish all of the phenomena described by our eyewitnesses.

high water, had shifted its course from the Missouri shore at St. Genevieve, Missouri, to a point on the Illinois shore, very near the bank of the Kaskaskia River.

I was there on the 18th and 19th of April, 1881. The water was passing over the narrow strip of land, perhaps from 400 to 500 feet in width, which separated the two rivers. On the night of the 18th the water broke thru, and I was there the next morning in company with many other persons. The surface of the ground was mostly black soil about two feet in depth, which was more packed and solid than the surface lower down at the edge of the Kaskaskia River. As the water ran over the surface, before the river broke entirely thru, it first carried away the sand which was at the edge of the Kaskaskia, and then rapidly cut back underneath the black soil which rapidly crumbled away.

I remember that as the flood of water came over the surface it looked like water falling over a mill dam, and the height of the fall appeared to be fully from six to eight feet in height. The opening on the morning of the 19th was quite large, and the scene was a most remarkable one, and not likely to be forgotten. People would stand as near as they dared to the rushing stream. Pretty soon some one would notice the ground was cracking and opening behind the spectators, and then there would be a rush back to ground that appeared to be safe, which sooner or later would also crumble and drop into the fast widening channel.

The Kaskaskia River was perhaps 600 feet wide at this point and could not at once take care of this great flood, and the water spread itself over the land on the further side from the Mississippi, striking the bank with such force that it uprooted large trees on the shore, and along in what was then called the "Reiley's Bottom." Such pecan and other large trees as were on the west bank were torn up by the roots. Some sank out of sight at once and others moved off with the flood, their tops uppermost, while the weight of dirt in their roots partly held them down. There was a great rush and roar of waters, and masses of foam and froth drifted off with the boiling, rushing and eddying waters, and the force of the current was terrific.

The Mississippi spread itself out both up and down the narrower river into which it was pouring, and, of course, forced the Kaskaskia up stream. I remember that large masses of dirt piled themselves up stream to the apparent height, in a few instances of 15 feet, which later dissolved, but which actually largely impeded the downflow of the Kaskaskia.

A new highway bridge was being built at Evansville, several miles higher up the stream, and the county was compelled to construct a draw, or swing, in this bridge, to enable steamboats to go up the river. New Athens in St. Clair County was legally the head of navigation; and there being a swing or drawbridge in the railroad bridge above Evansville, the river became, in fact as well as in law, navigable to New Athens.

Sand and dirt were deposited in the woods near the new channel to such an extent that many acres of trees died and stood there dead for several years. I owned considerable of this land and much of it was actually improved, being raised by this deposit. The rush of water con-

tinued for several months, but when the Mississippi was low again, the current had cut a new channel in the Kaskaskia River and about midsummer the boats commenced to use it as a permanent channel, the first boat to go through being the Emma C. Elliott. The destruction of old Kaskaskia did not occur for several years after the rivers came together.

At the time this happened, I was living on my farm near Kaskaskia.

Dr. E. L. Brown, of Bloomington, Illinois, who as a young man lived at Reiley's Mill, a little over a mile from the new chute, has also very kindly given us a statement of what he witnessed at the time of the overflow. He was then a young man living in Randolph County, and has a distinct recollection of the event.

## DR. BROWN'S STATEMENT.

"Bloomington, Ill., *February 20, 1914.*

In the years of 1880 and 1881, under the name of H. B. Brown & Son, my father and I were running the old Reiley Mill near Kaskaskia. This was the oldest mill in Illinois. It was about a mile and a half north of the town and across the Okaw River, and about one mile from the point where the Mississippi River cut thru into the Okaw.

Previous to the year 1881 the Okaw River emptied into the Mississippi River near Chester, some seven miles south of Kaskaskia. About one and one-half miles north of the town the Okaw bends somewhat to the west. Just opposite to this bend the Mississippi had a big bend to the eastward. For several years the big river had been undermining and carrying away many acres of rich farming lands, and, among other farms, that on which stood the Bond Mansion, the house of the first governor of Illinois. "The Narrows," as this shrinking strip of land between the rivers was called, was only a few hundred feet wide in April, 1881. At the time of high water in the Mississippi the back water in the Okaw was some seven or eight feet lower than the headwater in the big river just across the narrows. There had been a large grove of pecan trees between the rivers, but only a small part of it remained. Through this grove there ran a small ravine into the Okaw.

When the flood of 1881 was at its crest, and aided by high northwest winds which rolled up immense waves, the water began to run across to the Okaw. Soon the rivulet became a swift stream, which cut out the sandy subsoil, and soon became a swirling, seething, foaming torrent. It began to dash over on April 18, was a rushing mill race on the 19th, and on the 20th it was a boiling, resistless river. The current was so swift and terrible that it was several days before it was safe for a boat of any kind to pass through the cut.

I remember seeing large pecan trees on the banks of the cut, as it was widening, bend out and over the water as a half acre strip of land caved in, and go down with a splash and a boom—the foam and spray flying high; and we never saw a leaf show above the surface for a half mile down stream.

On the east bank of the Okaw at this point lie the Reiley bottoms, consisting of several hundred acres of low timberland. As the rushing waters of the big river crossed the little river, the full force of them struck this timber. Trees were uprooted and carried away in great

numbers. Months later I saw many trees four to six inches thru, many yards back from the bank of the river that were broken off ten or twelve feet from the ground.

There was a large crowd of people there for days before the break, and also for several days afterward. I recall seeing a rescue boat with four oarsmen go up to rescue two men from a tree. They had tried to go up near to the cut from down stream, but the current had been too swift and overturned their boat against a tree.

A few days later, when the force of the current had abated somewhat, some men drifted thru the cut and took soundings. They reported it as sixty-six feet deep. As the strips of land a half acre or more in area and perhaps fifty or more yards in length caved off into the water, the sound was like distant thunder or the booming of cannon. Because this cut shortened the Mississippi more than ten miles, and so made a very fierce current, and also raised the water at Kaskaskia eight feet, it was necessary for many people living in the lowest part of the town to move out at once. We boys thought it fun to help the moving with our boats.

The entire town was not flooded that year. But the swift cutting current showed that the town was doomed, and now the Father of Waters has swallowed up the site of the old town, the town Col. Clark captured from the British in 1778. Today the site of old Fort Kaskaskia looks down on a muddy, boiling river where once the Kaskaskia Indians built their chief town."

Mr. Gustave Pape's touching lamentation concerning the memory and history of old Kaskaskia, which is all that is now left to console its many friends, in America, in Canada, in France, and the entire world, finds reverberations in the hearts of many now living, and these will not disappear in ages to come. Our hearty sympathy has always gone out in behalf of the pioneers of the old French regime. We seem to see them living in peaceful harmony with the converted Illinois Indians, who flocked to the old mission to see and hear the simple-minded Christian fathers. We almost imagine we can witness the tearful departure of the hearty hunters, voyagers, and soldiers who left home and kindred for their long and dangerous trading and hunting expeditions. We think of the joyous and noisy welcomes given to the survivors on their return, and can almost hear the lamentations of the widows and orphans of those whose unannounced deaths many months previous had now for the first time reached the ears of the desolate dear ones at home.

We consider the hearty and cheerful loyalty of the entire settlement as the joyful news of the French alliance was proclaimed in 1778 by George Rogers Clark and his brave Virginians, and their ready acceptance of the new freedom gained by the young American nation. We then see how the high hopes of this simple and trusting population were a few years later poisoned by destitution and woe, thru the neglect and poverty of the boasted American Empire, which by forcing a harsh and bitter military occupation upon these simple-minded patriots compelled them to bear vastly more than their share of the trials and sufferings caused by the American Revolution.

We have united in heartfelt sympathy for the ancient pioneers and their revolutionary successors; and the people of the whole northwest

now join in never ending regret for the disastrous catastrophe which has unfortunately annihilated the hearthstones of ancient Kaskaskia.

The cutting away of the town site of Kaskaskia has been proceeding through a series of years, some of them not long after 1881, but mostly between 1886 and 1909. The Government lights were removed in 1898[13] from the old river. Slice after slice of its soil, buildings and improvements have fallen into the ever widening channel of the river, until now only a small corner of the old village is left, as can readily be seen by the plat which was accurately surveyed within the last few months. This plat when published will be a remarkable addition to the history of Kaskaskia. The streets and alleys will lie exactly in the bottom of the present river. The beds of the two rivers side by side, form the present Mississippi. As the town fronted on the Kaskaskia River which was several hundred feet only in width, the greater part of the old streets will be shown in the western part of the present stream, while the smallest portion of the great river bed will lie in the old bed of the original river, and the dotted lines will show the original boundaries of the old town.

The society will place a granite marker on remnant of the town site which is still left, and on the marker will be indicated the distance and directions from it to the old church or cemetery, old Fort Gage, or perhaps a few other historical locations. The Mississippi is reported to have lately commenced filling its bed in front of the town site and it is quite possible that, as in the case of Fort Chartres, there may be no further disturbance for centuries.

On October 26, 1913, I drove from St. Genevieve to old Kaskaskia, passing over the site of the old St. Genevieve,[14] where nothing but a few pieces of broken crockery can now be found. It was almost impossible to believe that on this lonesome spot was the earliest settlement of Missouri (in 1735); and one could but return thanks to its enterprising residents who in the year of the high water,[15] 1785, decided to remove their homes and all of the belongings to the charming site of the thrifty and tasteful little historic city of St. Genevieve. I passed thru the famous Big Field, still without fences except at the bluffs; and it is my impression that this field of 2,000 acres is the richest and most productive field of its size anywhere in America. Following along in the direction of Kaskaskia thru many hundred acres of the former river now grown up with willows and cottonwoods, marked "The Cottonwoods" on the plat, I passed over the old bed of the Mississippi where for ages this magnificent river poured its mighty floods, whose surface was sometimes twenty-five feet higher than the highway, which is no highway, but a mere temporary passageway to the town site. Climbing the steep bank, a short drive brought me to what is left of old Kaskaskia, where

[13] United States Mississippi River Commissioners' Reports.

[14] It will be noted that on the plat shown on page 97, the word "portage" is marked opposite the site of old St. Genevieve, called on the plat "Misere". It will be seen that the distance between the rivers at that point is but five or six miles; and we can readily imagine the people descending the Mississippi would prefer when possible, to make the portage across from that river to the town of Kaskaskia, rather than to proceed down the main river to the mouth of the Okaw and then work six miles against the current of this river up to the site of Kaskaskia.

[15] "It is a remarkable fact that the first four permanent settlements in the great west, on the banks of the 'Father of Waters', have been completely destroyed and washed away by the floods of this monarch of rivers; and strange it is to say that of Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, 'LeVieux village de St. Genevieve', and new Madrid, nothing is left. Their old landmarks and monuments, even many of the tombs and graves of the pioneers, have been carried away by floods". Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 134.

four or five families at present reside. An uninhabited old house preserves the high water mark of 1844, which is apparently eight feet above the highest point of land; and here will probably be placed the Historical Society's permanent marker. Permanent if the river never again passes thru its old channel, but irretrievably lost if the river ever pours thru what is now called the remnant of old Kaskaskia, and opens out once more its original channel.

This old channel, reduced in places to a mere thread of dry sand, in others growing up to willows and cottonwoods, is now the boundary between the states of Missouri and Illinois. The old territory formerly called Kaskaskia Island, around which poured the great river, has not changed its allegiance and is still governed by the laws of Illinois.

It appears to have been decided by the courts that where changes of river courses take place under similar conditions to those under consideration, the line between the states will follow the old stream and the territory so affected shall remain in the original states. This being the case, it is believed that as soon as this old channel has become actually closed, filled by sediment and grown up with trees and brush, the states of Illinois and Missouri, thru a properly organized joint state commission, will proceed to mark this old channel by metes and bounds and permanently define the boundaries of the two states.

The rapidly increasing encroachments of the river early attracted the attention of the members of the parish of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, not only on account of the general danger to the town; but also because it was seen that the dearly beloved church built in 1756, must go, and then would be scattered the precious bones of several generations of devoted Christians buried in the consecrated cemeteries.

The church name dates from 1675, at which time the Indian[16] Mission near Utica in LaSalle County was founded by Father Marquette, under the title still given at the church in New Kaskaskia,[17] which not only bears the same name but possesses the sacred bell donated by Louis Buyat in 1743. He was the ancestor of the well known Randolph County family of Buyat; and the bell and altar of the new church are fondly cherished as relics of the old building, which had remained in the different church buildings for more than 150 years. This bell was cast in France in 1741. As the river came nearer and nearer to the church and cemetery, steps were taken to induce the Legislature of Illinois to remove the human remains from the cemeteries to a new cemetery on Garrison Hill, on the top of the bluffs opposite the river from Kaskaskia, to about twenty acres of ground purchased by the State, up-river[18] from the site of old Fort Kaskaskia.

Father Darnley was the priest in charge at this time, and when the sad and sorrowful work was completed at a cost of ten thousand dollars, by a commission appointed in accordance with an act of the Illinois Legislature in 1901, it was generally felt that as far as the State was con-

[16] "The original St. Genevieve was known by the name of 'LeVieux Village'. The old town was located about three miles south of the present St. Genevieve and what is known as 'Le Grande Champ', the big field, and was settled in 1735, being the oldest settlement in upper Louisiana, a portion of which is now Missouri, west of the Mississippi River." Rozier's History of the Mississippi Valley, p. 96.

[17] New Kaskaskia will be nearly two miles from the edge of the present river, and its organization and origin will be treated by Mr. H. W. Roberts in the next volume of the society's Transactions.

[18] The location of the Garrison Hill Cemetery Monument is only a very short distance to the left of the site of Fort Kaskaskia, as shown on our published cut of the Fort.

Monument erected by the State of Illinois to early Kaskaskians. Fort Gage Cemetery on Garrison Hill 350 feet above the Mississippi River.

cerned an important public duty had been performed. Performed it certainly was, but not in a manner satisfactory to the people of Kaskaskia and vicinity. The funds provided by the act in question have not proved to be sufficient to keep these new Catholic and Protestant cemeteries in proper condition. The fences are out of repair and the growth of bushes and thorny vines is altogether beyond control. The soil and even the subsoil washes down hill, leaving graves exposed and the condition of the cemetery is a disgrace to the State. No complaints are made by the members of the parish who appear to have inherited the patience of their ancestors whose good will during and after the Revolution has well deserved the praise of all our historians, but I feel it my duty to call attention to the State's neglect of this sacred place.

There is no harm in mentioning here that it was impossible to remove in any satisfactory manner, the sacred remains of the pioneers who were buried in the old cemeteries. The removal seemed so much like sacrilege that in very many instances, surviving relatives would feel more consolation if no effort had been made to remove the relics, and if one and all had been allowed to follow the course of the raging Mississippi in its new channel towards the Gulf of Mexico.

It is also unfortunate that territorially the Garrison[19] Hill cemetery lies in Chester parish, and that the old parish of Kaskaskia is not canonically connected with this important burial place. It has been suggested that if our Legislature will attach these cemeteries with the neglected grave of United States Senator Kane, about a mile and a half up river from Garrison Hill, together with the recently purchased site of Fort Chartres in Randolph County, to the Illinois State Park Commission, by a very slight amendment of the powers of that commission, then all of these matters can be attended to systematically as long as the State of Illinois shall endure. I suggest that our society encourage an effort in this direction.

No photograph of the granite monument erected on Garrison Hill had ever been taken until a beginning was made towards the preparation of this paper. A cut of the same accompanies this publication. The monument is twenty-six feet in height, and is just above and outside of the Catholic portion which adjoins the Protestant cemetery. Both cemeteries are surrounded by partly burned cheap wooden fences which should be replaced by something more appropriate and more permanent.

The view from this monument on Garrison Hill is one of the most remarkable to be found in the whole length and breadth of the State of Illinois. It is my unbiased judgment from extensive journeys over the State, that nowhere else is there to be found such a varied and beautiful picture of natural scenery as is visible at this very point, from the base of this monument on top of Garrison Hill, which is 360 feet above the bed of the river below, just opposite the old town of Kaskaskia and above the low lying station of Fort Gage, which is on the two railroads just below.

Altho the Mississippi bluffs on the western side of our State, and the beautiful hills and white faced limestone bluffs of the lower Illinois Valley, in Greene, Jersey, Pike and Calhoun counties, are tolerably well

[19] This cemetery is known locally and perhaps generally as Fort Gage Cemetery. Its proper name, that is, its legal name, is Garrison Hill Cemetery. Fort Kaskaskia was on Garrison Hill and it is to be hoped the name of Garrison Hill Cemetery will finally be adopted.

known to the residents of the State, there are comparatively few of our citizens who are at all familiar with the grandeur and the beauty of the American Bottom in the region of old Kaskaskia; and I feel that this is the proper place to emphatically praise the natural and impressive beauty of this locality opposite the site of unfortunate old Kaskaskia.

If our State Historical Society decides to procure a first-class painting of a truly grand and beautiful landscape, for the use of our much desired new State historical hall, no more appropriate selection can be made than the magnificent view from the base of the monument to the State's pioneers on Garrison Hill.

There is a grand view of the Missouri bluffs in the distance, upon which was situated the old Spanish town of New Bourbon. The Island of Kaskaskia is to be leveed. It broadens out magnificently in front of us, and we dimly see beyond this fertile tract the narrow threadlike channel of the old Mississippi. The wide expanse of open water to the west and north is visible, where the calamitous junction of the two rivers was made at the time of the overflow; and the new Mississippi is barely visible at the base of Garrison Hill, with the edge of the remnant of old Kaskaskia at the front part of the view. All taken together it is a sight long to be remembered, and one which should be painted by some well qualified landscape artist and given a place in the rooms of the State Historical Society.

The seeds of bitterness which were often sown on this soil, failed to grow to maturity, and when the monument was erected on Garrison Hill, it was possible to inscribe these sentiments which do honor to the past history of Kaskaskia, and also to the present inhabitants of the State of Illinois, as is shown by the following comprehensive and appropriate inscription:

"THOSE WHO SLEEP HERE WERE FIRST BURIED AT KASKASKIA, AND AFTERWARDS REMOVED TO THIS CEMETERY. THEY WERE THE EARLY PIONEERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. THEY PLANTED FREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE WILDERNESS AND WERE THE PIONEERS OF A GREAT COMMONWEALTH. IN MEMORY OF THEIR SACRIFICE, ILLINOIS, GRATEFUL, ERECTS THIS MONUMENT, 1892."

This great valley became British territory at the peace of 1763; and one of the first grand results of the French-American Alliance of 1778 was the gaining of the good will of the French residents of this same region, which finally caused the whole Mississippi Valley to become the choicest portion of the American nation.

Here, then, in full view of the vanished homes of the principal actors in the great drama of 1778 and later, by the side of the honored remains of many of those heroes of various nationalities and religions, is the place to properly set forth the patriotic emotions of the people of the middle west. Shall it be accomplished by the construction of a far more imposing and appropriate monument to those who are buried here, by a patriotic centennial Kaskaskian celebration, a historical painting of this grandly beautiful landscape, or shall this desirable accomplishment be something more thoughtfully appropriate?

The Site of Black Hawk's Village on Rock River two miles above the mouth of the River.

# BLACK HAWK'S HOME COUNTRY.

(JOHN H. HAUBERG, Secretary Rock Island County Historical Society.)

"This is the most dramatic spot in Illinois," exclaimed an Illinois admirer of things historic and beautiful.

He was standing upon an ancient burial mound at the westernmost point of the bluff known as Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Before him was the broad valley at the intersection of the Rock and the Mississippi rivers. Two miles to the northwest and in plain view the waters of the Rock River joined those of the Father of Waters in the march to the sea. The village of Sears immediately at the foot of the hill, and the farms and gardens, rivers and islands and forest, all intimately connected, were spread before him and extended to where the view was dimmed by the haze which screened the far side of the great river and the bluffs over on the Iowa side. Interested as he was in the stirring events of history, this beautiful landscape had the greatest fascination, for this spot witnessed the rise and fall of one of the most powerful of western Indian nations. Here the conquering Sauk and Fox had come, driving before them the Illini; here was dispensed a lavish hospitality to friend, and from this place sallied forth the messengers of death to the foe; here Lieutenant Zebulon Pike had in 1805 presented the Indians with the beautiful banner of Stars and Stripes which was to be the first to be raised to the breeze of the upper Mississippi shores; here in 1814 might have been heard the din of the desperate battle at Campbell's Island in which many brave Americans were killed; here, too, was witnessed the smoke and roar of British cannon in the battle of Credit Island, as Briton and savage Indian united, in the War of 1812, against the young American republic; and in this instance against the forces led by the gallant young officer, Major Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States; and here cluster most of all the memories of the war which bears the name of one of the most widely known individuals among our American Indians.

For this was the birthplace and home of Black Hawk, the famous Sauk war-chief, central figure in the most stirring events of his nation's history; and of other numerous chiefs of varying degrees of prominence and importance, coworkers at times, and at other times divided in their councils; Keokuk, Quashquame, Pashepaho, Ouchequaka, Hashequarequa, Matatas and others whose names appear in published records. For a century this was the permanent home of the largest band of the Sauks; was claimed to be the largest Indian village on the continent. Together with the Fox tribe they constituted one of the most formidable of the Mississippi Valley nations, and with the tomahawk and rifle ruled the northwestern part of Illinois, all of Iowa, the northern part of Mis-

souri and the southwestern part of Wisconsin. The Sioux of the northwest feared them; the Osages were kept under discipline on the Missouri; their ancient enemy, the Cherokees, to the southwest, knew their ability to lift scalps; the Kaskaskias and Kickapoos were driven to the southerly part of Illinois; and they had similar diplomatic relations with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Winnebagos and the Menominees of the north and east, among whom the ability to present some enemy's scalp served as a passport to their respect.

The Sauks and Foxes were a united nation and were tillers of the soil as well as hunters and trappers, and today we find marks of their farming operations in not less than five sections of the government survey of lands, in South Rock Island. It was the bronzed squaw and the dark-eyed maiden, however, who did the farming; and it is interesting to note that while Black Hawk was protesting, in later years, that their chiefs who were claimed to have sold their home lands to the United States Government, had not been authorized by the tribes to sell; the women of the village also had their representative, one of their own sex who argued with General Gaines that the corn fields had never been the property of the men, and that these fields, at least, had not changed hands, for the women had not sold them nor had they been consulted in any proposed sale of them.

The method of cultivation was by hoeing the field into little mounds or hillocks and planting the corn in the top of these hillocks, which were from fifteen to twenty inches in height. Providentially, it seems, large areas of these ancient corn fields have never been molested by the farming implements of the white man, but were fenced, and have since been used for pasture. A fine blue grass sod has grown over all, and so they have been preserved much as the Indian left them, except for the large forest trees which have since grown up; and while the weather, cattle and other causes have obliterated most of the hillocks, hundreds upon hundreds of these Indian corn hills ruffle the surface of pasture and woodland in the vicinity of the Watch Tower and constitute one of the most interesting and fascinating remains of Indian occupation. With these real evidences before one, it is easy to see in the mind's eye the busied squaw, assisted by the young boys and aged men, laboring at the planting and the harvest; the imagination peoples the nearby village with its hushed prattle of voices; the children playing at the water's edge; the warrior overhauling his weapons of offense and the implements of the chase; now a season of birds and blossoms, and again the Indian Summer, each with its own schedule of activities, and all of it, primitive man and his primeval surroundings blending into a picture beyond the brush of any human artist.

Following the planting of the corn came the festival devoted especially to the gentler sex, and called the Crane Dance. At this festival the young maidens adorned themselves with feathers and heightened their complexions with the use of paint. It was this occasion which called for the definite proposal of marriage on the part of the brave, tho Black Hawk, as mere man, bluntly says, "The young men selected their wives at this time." One July day as these primitive villagers were scattered about their fields hoeing the corn, there occurred the culmination of a romance and the tragedy of Indian Lover's Spring. It

is interestingly told by Black Hawk in his autobiography and we will listen to his words. Unfortunately, we would be unable to comprehend the meaning of his native speech, and so we have it in our own English, done over perhaps imperfectly by the Indian's friend and interpreter, Antoine LeClaire: "In 1827, a young Sioux Indian got lost on the prairie, in a snow-storm, and found his way into a camp of the Sacs. According to Indian customs, altho he was an enemy, he was safe while accepting their hospitality. He remained there for some time on account of the severity of the storm. Becoming well acquainted, he fell in love with the daughter of the Sac, at whose village he had been entertained; and before leaving for his own country, promised to come to the Sac village for her at a certain time during the approaching summer. In July, he made his way to the Rock River village, secreting himself in the woods until he met the object of his love, who came out to the field with her mother to assist her in hoeing corn. Late in the afternoon her mother left her and went to the village. No sooner had she gone out of hearing than he gave a loud whistle which assured the maiden that he had returned. She continued hoeing leisurely to the end of the row, when her lover came to meet her. She promised to come to him as soon as she could go to the lodge and get her blanket, and together they would flee to his country. But, unfortunately for the lovers, the girl's two brothers had seen the meeting, and, after procuring their guns, started in pursuit of them. A heavy thunderstorm was coming on at the time. The lovers hastened to and took shelter under a cliff of rocks at Black Hawk's Watch Tower. Soon after, a loud peal of thunder was heard, the cliff of rocks was shattered in a thousand pieces, the lovers buried beneath, while in full view of her pursuing brothers. This, their unexpected tomb, still remains undisturbed."

Perhaps a more historically important object than the corn hills is the embankment or mound upon which was built the Sauk Council Lodge. Part of this mound still remains, having outlived a spur of railroad which absorbed part of it; a canal or tail-race which missed it by a few yards; and escaped being covered up with refuse rock taken from the bottom of the river when the nearby hydro-electric plant was installed. The mound stands about one hundred and fifty paces from Rock River and was well toward the east end of the Indian village. This was the capital, if you please, of a country greater than any state in the Mississippi Valley, as well as the town hall of what is reliably mentioned as the largest Indian village on the continent. Here brave and chief met in council and decided upon important matters of state—and what is more, the legislators personally saw to the execution of their enactments:

"In this engagement (with the Osages), I killed five men and one squaw, and had the good fortune to take the scalps of all I struck with one exception, that of the squaw who was accidentally killed. The enemy's loss in this engagement was about one hundred braves; ours, nineteen."

Next in turn, Black Hawk, with the council, took action regarding the Cherokees, with the following report: "In this battle I killed three men and wounded several. The enemy's loss was twenty-eight; ours, seven." Again: "We started in the third moon with five hundred Sacs

and Foxes and one hundred Iowas determined upon the complete and final extermination of the dastardly Osages. We fell upon forty lodges, killed all the inhabitants except two squaws, whom I took as prisoners."

"Early next morning the council lodge was crowded," says Black Hawk, speaking of the occasion, when certain chiefs, sent to St. Louis in 1804, had come to give their report. They had been sent to secure the release of a fellow tribesman who had gotten himself into prison for killing a white man; but, instead of bringing back the culprit, they returned with a story of a sale of lands—these very lands upon which stood their village—tho they afterwards professed ignorance of that fact. Again we will let their war chief tell the story: "The party started with the good wishes of the whole nation, who had high hopes that the emissaries would accomplish the object of their mission. The relations of the prisoner blackened their faces and fasted, hoping the Great Spirit would take pity on them and return husband and father to his sorrowing wife and weeping children.

"Quashquame and his party remained a long time absent. They at length returned and encamped near the village, a short distance below it, and did not come up that day, nor did anyone approach their camp. They appeared to be dressed in fine coats and had medals. From these circumstances we were in hopes that they had brought good news. Early the next morning the council lodge was crowded; Quashquame and party came up and gave the following account of their mission:

" 'On our arrival at St. Louis, we met our American Father (William Henry Harrison) and explained to him our business, urging the release of our friend. The American Chief told us he wanted land. We agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi, likewise more on the Illinois side, opposite Jeffreon (now called North Fabius River) in Missouri. When the business was all arranged we expected to have our friend released to come home with us. About the time we were ready to start, our brother was let out of the prison. He started and ran a short distance when he was shot dead.' "

The crowded council on this occasion had listened to the account of the treaty which passed the title to all their lands east of the Mississippi; which, the chief said, was the origin of all our serious difficulties with the whites, and which ended with the Black Hawk War in 1832.

Another important meeting held at this old council lodge was during the War of 1812, when Keokuk was elected a war chief. Black Hawk with the main force of his warriors had gone to assist the British in their operations against the Americans about Detroit. The women, children and old men had been left at home with but a small party of braves to care for them, and would have been unable to defend themselves had they been attacked by the Americans. Black Hawk soon became disgusted with the Britishers' method of warfare, returned to his village, and was introduced to the new chief, who was destined to be his most hated rival for leadership—Chief Keokuk. We will quote from the autobiography: "I inquired how he had become chief. They said that a large armed force was seen by their spies going toward Peoria. Fears were entertained that they would come up and attack the village; and a council had been called to decide as to the best course to be adopted, which concluded upon leaving the village and going to the west side of

the Mississippi to get out of the way. Keokuk, during the sitting of the council, had been standing at the door of the lodge, not being allowed to enter, as he had never killed an enemy, where he remained until old Wacome came out. He then told him that he had heard what they decided on, and was anxious to be permitted to speak before the council adjourned. Wacome returned and asked leave for Keokuk to come in and make a speech. His request was granted. Keokuk entered and addressed the chiefs. He said: 'I have heard with sorrow that you have determined to leave our village and cross the Mississippi merely because you have been told that the Americans were coming in this direction. Would you leave our village, desert our homes, and fly before an enemy approaches? Would you leave all, even the graves of our fathers, to the enemy without trying to defend them? Give me charge of your warriors and I will defend the village while you sleep in safety.'

"The council consented that Keokuk should be war chief. He marshaled his braves, sent out spies and advanced with a party himself on the trail leading to Peoria. They returned without seeing an enemy. The Americans did not come by our village. All were satisfied with the appointment of Keokuk. He used every precaution that our people should not be surprised. This is the manner and the cause of his receiving the appointment. I was satisfied."

Ancient mounds are numerous in the vicinity of the Watch Tower. The most interesting group being one mile east of the Watch Tower Inn. It has twenty-two large burial mounds, besides a number of low elevations about a foot in height, about six feet in width and fifty feet in length. Considering the fact that our Indians held the burial places of their dead in the highest reverence, and that among the mounds of this group are found numerous corn hills not only between the mounds but extending up their sides, we are led to believe that these mounds were built by a people of such remote antiquity that even the traditions regarding them had failed or had lost their force upon the Sauk who turned this cemetery into a cornfield. These mounds crown a high bluff from which an inspiring view is to be had over Rock River and its bottoms, and from them have been taken such fragments of pottery as is commonly found among the works of the ancient Mound Builders. At the foot of the bluff, along the river bank, several hundred yards from these mounds we find more fragments of this clay product which is identical with that classed by students as typical upper Mississippi, or northwestern pottery, as distinguished from that found in the mounds of the lower Mississippi. By whom were these mounds built?

The so-called Mound Builders made and used pottery. Our Sauk and Fox Indians and their contemporaries neither made nor used it. According to Black Hawk, his people drove the Kaskaskias from Rock River. An authority states that the Kickapoos preceded them. Neither of these tribes used pottery. We have here a subject suited to the liveliest imagination; for, we are undoubtedly considering a lost and forgotten race. Who will write their story? Who will venture to call upon this valley of dead men's bones; recall them to life and set them about their tasks, such tasks, of course, as only a fertile imagination could assign?

An interesting explanation of the causes which led to the apparent difference between the ancient Mound Builder and our western Indian is given by Clark McAdams in an article on the "Archaeology of Illinois" (Vol. 12, Publication of Illinois State Historical Library). Mr. McAdams pictures a community of Indians—we will call them Mound Builders—of an advanced type of civilization, capable of supporting themselves necessarily by a more or less intensive agriculture in very populous communities, and executing great works of a public nature, e. g. the Cahokia Mounds. Into this community wanders the buffalo, an animal heretofore unknown to them; and it is discovered that just to the west and crowding eastward, there are hordes and hordes of these animals. The family breadwinner soon learns that it is easier to make a living by the chase than by cultivating the soil. He drops his implements and tools, retaining only what is necessary for the chase. Nearly all the household necessities of his former mode of living are found to be a burden and a nuisance. To insure greater success in the chase, the tribe is divided into small bands, which, with the least equipment possible, follow the trail of the wild herds, and, in a few generations have degenerated into the nomad of our western plains, as our people found them.

Let us consider for a moment the position held by Black Hawk's people among the aborigines of our continent. The Sauk and Fox occupied a place midway between the nomad and the farmer. One-half of the year was spent at their home village; the rest of the time they roamed over their wide extent of territory. As farmers, they must live in a fixed locality; while, as nomads, their impedimenta must be as nearly nil as possible. It requires more than one season to change a native prairie sod into a good crop-producing field, so they necessarily stayed by their old cornfields. As to their civilization indicated by their household utensils, we find from the old account books of the Indian trader on Rock Island, Col. George Davenport, that the sole article of kitchen wares sold by him to the Indians was the kettle. Nothing else, aside from blankets, weapons, etc., appears until after they had been driven to the west side of the Mississippi and were receiving annuities from the Government, when they indulged in such luxuries as the tea and coffe pot, tin pans; and the height of luxury was reached in the purchase of an item, by one of the chiefs, of twenty tin cups. Col. Davenport's credit book for 1830, has accounts of 250 individual Indians. Out of the lot the following is a fair sample of the nature of the goods purchased:

| 1830. | | Pow-we-shick. | | Upper Mines. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Stroud ..... | $6 00 | 1 Tomyhawk.. | $ 2 00 | 1 Bell ..... | $1 00 |
| 1 Pt. Blanket. | 3 00 | Salt ..... | 1 00 | 1 Pr. Combs.. | 1 00 |
| 1 Molten Mantlet ..... | 4 00 | 1 Breachcloth. | 2 00 | 1 Knife ..... | 50 |
| 2 Knives ..... | 1 00 | 1 Tin kettle.. | 4 00 | | |
| | | 4 Traps ..... | 24 00 | | $49 50 |

The bluff known as the Black Hawk Watch Tower is three-fourths of a mile in length, its highest point being at the western extremity mentioned in the opening paragraph above. A half mile east of this point the bluff rises sheer from the water's edge to a height of one hundred seventy-five feet and here the Watch Tower Inn is located. One can

Cabin on site of Black Hawk's Wigwam where he lived two years mourning the loss of a son and daughter. It is on the bluff overlooking the Indian Village.

scarcely imagine a more beautiful scene than is to be had from this point. Visitors never tire of it but return to it time and again. Rock River flowing immediately by the foot of the bluff is here divided by islands and at the far side is the Hennepin Canal; and beyond, is the village of Milan, which at this distance seems perpetually to be dozing in the summer's sun. Thousands of visitors come by trolley every week of the warm season and many an evening finds the grounds covered with parties gathered about the picnic basket.

It is interesting to know that this spot attracted the Indian no less than the varied population of the Tri-cities of today. Here they came on pleasure bent, and Black Hawk in his autobiography says: "This tower to which my name was applied was a favorite resort, and was frequently visited by me alone, when I could sit and smoke my pipe, and look with wonder and pleasure at the grand scenes that were presented by the Sun's rays, even across the mighty waters. On one occasion a Frenchman who had been making his home in our village, brought his violin with him to the tower, to play and dance for the amusement of a number of our people who had assembled there; and while dancing with his back to the cliff, accidentally fell over it and was killed by the fall." The Indians declared that always at the same time of the year, soft strains of the violin could be heard near that spot.

The famous chief at one time moved from his village below the hill to the top of the Watch Tower bluff, where he lived for two years doing penance over the death of a beloved son and daughter. The exact location of his cabin is vouched for by one of our grand old pioneers still living, to whom it was pointed out by other pioneers (now deceased), who lived here among the Indians, previous to their going, finally, across the Mississippi. We will let Black Hawk tell the story in his own words:

"My eldest son was taken sick and died. He had always been a dutiful child and had just grown to manhood. Soon after, my youngest daughter, an interesting and affectionate child, died also. This was a hard stroke, because I loved my children. In my distress I left the noise of the village and built my lodge on a mound in the cornfield, and enclosed it with a fence, around which I planted corn and beans. Here I was with my family alone. I gave away everything I had and reduced myself to poverty. The only covering I retained was a piece of buffalo robe. I blacked my face and resolved on fasting for twenty-four moons, for the loss of my two children—drinking only of water during the day and eating sparingly of boiled corn at sunset. I fulfilled my promise, hoping that the Great Spirit would take pity on me."

From the location of this lodge of penance we will step forward some thirty paces to the vantage point mentioned at the beginning of this story—the Indian burial mound at the extreme western end of the bluff. The time is June, A. D. 1831. All has changed. For three years the white man and the Indian had lived side by side, the former having plowed up and occupied many of the cornfields of the latter. It was no use trying to live together, and the determined Black Hawk told the whites they must go. Terror-stricken, the settlers fled to the protection of Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island. On June 20 came the white man's answer, to which the chief and all his braves together could make no reply. To the south of Rock River, from where Andalusia now

stands, came a cavalcade of sixteen hundred horsemen, headed by His Excellency, Governor John Reynolds, and Brigadier General Joseph Duncan, and a further contingent of two hundred men acting as a spy battalion under Major Samuel Whiteside. To the right from our vantage point came the company of Rock River Rangers, deployed as skirmishers, followed by nine companies of the United States Regulars and a piece of artillery, all commanded by John Bliss, Commander at Fort Armstrong. As if this were not sufficient there came up by way of Rock River a steamboat carrying the Commander-in-Chief, General Edmund P. Gaines, with more United States soldiers and more artillery. But the Indians' messenger service had always been reliable; they had not doubted its spies now; so the white man this day found not an Indian; all were safe beyond the broad Father of Waters. With two thousand five hundred soldiers encamped for a distance of ten miles along the Mississippi, Black Hawk and his people, horses, dogs and all, had crossed under cover of darkness, and not a sentry so much as suspected that any one had passed.

Chagrined that the wily enemy had so easily slipped by them, the pale-faced militia gratified their bent for destruction by firing the lodges and in a little while the village which for a century had been the home of a happy people, had gone up in smoke, a sacrifice upon the altar of the higher civilization.

But Black Hawk was not so easily to be disposed of. To his utmost he used his powers of persuasion upon the warriors of the unhappy tribes. Against him was pitted Chief Keokuk, who argued the uselessness of further protest against the whites. Bitter dissensions aggravated their condition. A miserable year passed, but with the return of spring, came the overwhelming desire to return to their villages, as had been the custom all of their lives. This time but a thousand people came with him. The squaws, old men, children and supplies, came up the Mississippi in canoes, while the chief with his warriors, well armed, came on horseback up the Illinois side of the river. As they reached the mouth of Rock River, they beat their drums to show the soldiers at Fort Armstrong they were not afraid. Again the settlers fled to the fort, and again the scenes of the previous year: great columns of mounted militia; Rock River Rangers and United States Regulars; thousands of enlisted Americans participated in the summer of 1832 in removing for all time from his beloved Watch Tower and village this determined son of the forest and plains. Among those with whom he measured his valor and strategy were two who became Presidents of the United States; one who presided over the Southern States in their revolt of the 60's; three who afterwards served as United States Senators; Judges of the Illinois Supreme Court; five Governors of Illinois and many more who became famous in the military as well as the civil affairs of the nation.

It is not within the province of this paper to follow the fortunes and misfortunes of these contending forces. Enough to say that in the first engagement, Black Hawk and a small part of his forces completely routed their antagonists, who outnumbered the Indians seven to one, and spread the greatest consternation among the settlers of the middle west. Their frightful battle yells caused the panic-stricken militia of Major

Stillman's to report that they had been attacked by two thousand bloodthirsty savages.

Early in April, 1832, the Indians, fearful, yet buoyed with hope, had crossed the Mississippi to return to Rock River. On April 12 they passed the ruins of their old home village, and that night found them a little way above where Milan now stands, for the last time encamped in sight of their old favorite resort, the Black Hawk Watch Tower. Less than four months later they were in such straits that the chief says of them: "Our only hope to save ourselves was to get across the Mississippi;" but first they must find means of reaching that stream. Some had gained the Wisconsin River, which they began to descend in hastily constructed canoes, but there were soldiers along the way, and their chief's account of it says: "Some of our people were killed, others drowned, several taken prisoners, and the balance escaped to the woods and perished with hunger." This experience was repeated at the Bad Axe as the remnant of his faithful followers were swimming the Mississippi for their lives. "One hundred and fifty were killed, most of them in the water." Of the one thousand who had announced their presence with the beating of drums as they entered Rock River in April, only three hundred lived to reach what was henceforth to be their home—the country farther west; and the proud old chief, now past sixty years of age, who in his day had led his warriors against the enemies of his people; who had extended and kept clear of trespassers, their hunting grounds, and who among all the famed Indian warriors of American history had not a peer in generalship on the field of battle; the old war-chief, Black Hawk, broken in spirit and utterly humiliated, was given over to the care and custody of his hated rival, Keokuk.

"Bitter reflections crowd upon my mind," said the chief afterwards. "How different our situation now from what it was in those happy days. Then we were as happy as the buffalo on the plains, but now we are as miserable as the hungry wolf on the prairie." * * * "When I called to mind the scenes of my youth and those of later days, when I reflected that the theater on which these were acted had been so long the home of my fathers who now slept on the hills around it, I could not bring my mind to consent to leave this country for any earthly consideration."

Truly, there is a charm about Black Hawk's home country for all who visit it, and a benediction for all who gaze from the heights of the tower upon the scenes of beauty beneath it, and contemplate the great drama enacted within its sacred precincts.

## THE WILLIAMSON COUNTY VENDETTA.

(By George W. Young, Marion.)

In speaking of that part of the State of Illinois commonly called Egypt, the reader usually has in mind that portion of the State lying south of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which traces almost a straight line from East St. Louis, in St. Clair County, through Carlyle, the county seat of Clinton County, Salem, the county seat of Marion County, Flora, the county seat of Clay County, Olney, the county seat of Richland County, Lawrenceville, the county seat of Lawrence County, ending at Vincennes on the east bank of the Wabash River in Indiana.

Williamson County is bounded on the north by Franklin, on the west by Jackson, on the south by Union and Johnson Counties, on the east by Saline County. It is eighteen miles north and south by twenty-four miles east and west. Marion, the county seat, is in the geographical center of the county. It is a great coal producing county and has some of the largest and best equipped mines in the southern part of the State. It occupies a rather central position between the Mississippi River on the west and the Ohio River on the east and south, being about sixty miles north of Metropolis and the Ohio River, about seventy-five miles north and a little east of Cairo at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

Williamson County and Franklin County were both embraced in one territory until eighteen hundred and thirty-nine (1839), when by act of the Legislature the territory of Franklin County was divided and the southern half was called Williamson County. Marion was established as the county seat.

The early settlers of the county were emigrants, principally from the southern states, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They were imbued with strong southern proclivities, having been used to slavery and raised under the influence of the slave-owning aristocracy of these slave-holding states. Notwithstanding all of this, they were, as a rule, men of sterling integrity and great force of character; and when they once became settled in an opinion which they believed to be right, they were strong and determined in defending their notions of right and wrong.

This being true, of course, the prevailing political sentiment was Democratic, leaning towards the Southern Democracy. In order to show how strong this sentiment was, it is only necessary to refer back to the presidential election of 1856, when James Buchanan, Democratic candidate, received 1,419 votes; John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate, received but ten (10) votes; Fillmore and Donaldson received 188 votes; total number of votes cast, 1,617. Four years later, at the election of

1860, Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic candidate for President, received 1,835 votes; Breckenridge, the southern wing Democratic candidate, received 40 votes; Bell and Everett, the Constitution-union candidates, received 166 votes; Lincoln and Hamlin, the Republican candidates, received only 173 votes out of a total 2,214 votes cast.

At the election of 1864 which took place during the war, at which Illinois soldiers were not allowed to vote while in the field, Lincoln received 859 votes, while McClellan received 1,121 votes. Total votes cast, 1,908. It will be observed that from 60 to 64 the Republican, or Abraham Lincoln, vote had increased from 173 in 1860 to 859 in 1864; but during the period of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, Williamson County furnished the Union army with more than fifteen hundred troops.

During the Civil War there were a great many southern refugees came to this county, principally from Tennessee and Kentucky. These refugees were what we usually termed Southern Unionists, or, in other words, they were opposed to secession, and favored the old Stars and Stripes, and the Union of our fathers; and as a natural result they had a great many relatives in the Union army; and this being so, they were ostracized and abused by the strong rebel element in many localities in the states from whence they came. These southern refugees, as a rule, brought with them their fiery southern spirit. The southern tinge of honor and bravery and fight was at all times ready to resent any insult or supposed insult reflecting upon their integrity and honor. They could not, and, as a rule, would not, brook an insult, or supposed insult. Such meant fight. A great many of these refugees, as they were called, settled in the western portion of Williamson and the eastern portion of Jackson counties.

It must not be forgotten, or lost sight of, that the major portion of the original settlers and residents of the western portion of Williamson County, and all other parts of the county for that matter, were the lineal descendants of the families emigrating from the southern states during the Civil War; and that they brought with them to this State that degree of fiery spirit and resentment to any insult or supposed insult that might be given to them for any cause or from any source. Thus it can be readily seen that any physical trouble terminating in force or fight was just as ready and as natural from the old settlers as it was from the more recent immigrants, or refugees; in this you have one blood, one sentiment, one disposition, one nature and one ambition.

It cannot be well or truthfully said that the Williamson County Vendetta, as it has passed into history, originated and was conducted along political lines; that is, it was not a war of Republicans on the one side and Democrats on the other; while there was some politics developed, yet such was incidentally thrown in, and had no relative bearing upon results which appeared to be killing certain persons. As the animosities, hatred, and revenge grew and spread out from one family and kindred to another, and apparently from one settlement to another, there seemed to be a growing desire to assassinate and kill whomever some one individual, or one or more individuals, seem to decide upon without any special or given reason for such conduct.

It will be impossible to go into all of the minute details connected with what is generally referred to in history as the Williamson County Vendetta of 1874 to 1876.

When we come to look at the first beginning, and trace it thru all of its meanderings and connecting circumstances at this distant day; when we attempt to analyze the different families and forces that were connected in this deadly strife extending over three years, we are lost in wonder and amazement at the results. It seems there were about six families lined up in the foreground at the beginning of the trouble; namely, the Russell family, the Sisney family, the Henderson family, the Bulliner family, the Crain family, and the Hinchcliff family. So far as the Russell family is concerned, it could never be ascertained that more than one of them was engaged very extensively in the strife; that is Thomas Russell, who is still living. He was the son of Jefferson Russell. The said Jefferson Russell, long since deceased, was an old resident of the county, had lived in the west side of the county, perhaps, since the year 1838. There was a large family of the Russells. I think they originally came from Tennessee in an early day. George W. Sisney was one of the old-time settlers. He was a soldier in the Mexican War, and was also a captain in the Eighty-first Illinois Infantry Volunteers during the Civil War. James Henderson was allied with a large family, but they did not come to this county until about the year 1863. Politically the three families I have mentioned were all Republicans. Then we have the Bulliner family; and the Crain family; and the Hinchcliff family. They were considered Democrats, but they were not looked upon as mean, or reckless in their conduct and manner of living. They owned large tracts of land and followed farming for a living.

I attribute the animosities growing out of the little bouts and fights which were at the inception of this extensive feud to the war spirit of the times. All of these leading families were in a measure connected with the outbreak, the progress and result of the Civil War. Passions ran high. And while it might be said that the war had been closed for nearly eight years, yet there had been one continuous battle of politics going on in this county since 1866, and the blood was never allowed to cool down.

I will give only a few little incidents which appear in the foreground in connection with the character and disposition of the actors, and which go a good way toward explaining the results that developed later.

The first fight in the Vendetta history occurred in July, 1872, in a saloon near the west side of Williamson County, in which it appears that some of the Bulliner boys were playing cards. A couple of the Henderson boys came in and, watching the run of the game, began to bet on results; and this, of course, caused them to, as the saying goes, "put in" or "butt in" and interfere with the conduct of the game. This enraged the players, who were the Bulliners, and they soon got into a fight, and it was claimed that the Hendersons got the worst of it. They carried it with them for some time and perhaps it was renewed at different places; like the rolling of a snow ball, the more it is rolled the more it gathers. They began to gather in those taking sides and renewed the fight in various ways for something like three years. This had the effect

of bringing in the Sisneys and the Russells. Another little occurrence came along between one of the Bulliners and the older Mr. Sisney in the settlement and payment of some rent which was due from one of Mr. Sisney's tenants. Mr. Sisney's farm joined Mr. Bulliner's on the east. The tenant sold some oats to Mr. Bulliner to pay a debt, and also let Mr. Sisney have the same oats as pay on the rent. This brought up a controversy between David Bulliner and George W. Sisney, as to who was the rightful owner of the oats. They had a lawsuit. Sisney held the oats; along in connection with this trial Mr. Bulliner accused Mr. Sisney of swearing a falsehood at the trial and that was the reason why he gained the lawsuit. This conversation was in a blacksmith shop on Mr. Sisney's farm. This enraged Mr. Sisney to such an extent that he picked up a shovel and knocked David Bulliner down. There were some four or six of the Bulliner boys living on the adjoining farm. David Bulliner ran home and got three of his brothers and his father. They came back with their guns and pistols; and Sisney, seeing them coming, retreated out of his house into a field, and they began firing on Sisney. It is said that he was hit by four of the balls, which took effect in his leg and hip, rendering him helpless. The old man Bulliner and one of the boys took Mr. Sisney into his house, and cared for him as best they could. Sisney was able to be up and about in the course of five or six weeks. It is proper to mention here that Sisney had three grown sons who were full of grit and fight, and they never got over the treatment their father received. It would seem they gradually went with the Russells and Hendersons as new actors came upon the stage.

There were several men and boys belonging to the Crain family. In fact, this being an old and populous family, there were really more of them than of any other family connected with the feud, and, as a rule, they were all fighters.

Along at first—that is, for the first year or so—1872 and 1873—it would seem that there was more of a family or settlement feud than anything else. In looking over the map of the territory which embraced so much fighting, shooting and killing, I find that the whole scene of the troubles is embraced in about six miles square, not more territory than is embraced in one township; but in this locality is situated the little railroad station called Crainville, in the vicinity of which most of the Crains lived. Then we would have the Sisneys and Bulliners on the south, the Russells on the west, the Hendersons and Hinchcliffs on the north, and the Crains on the east and center. At this little railroad station called Crainville there were two stores, a blacksmith shop, drug-store and some other little huckster stands as a part of the accessories of the little village. The drug-store, of course, furnished "spirits fermenti" on prescriptions. Every time any of the different warring factions came together there was more or less fighting of some kind. This of itself did not amount to much at the time, but as usual it is claimed that some one or the other of the factions took an undue advantage of the other and thereby left a tinge of hard feeling and malice on the part of those who got the worst of it, claiming that an undue advantage was taken of them by the victorious factions.

I speak of the parties as boys. I do not mean by this that they were little schoolboys; on the contrary, I mean that they were ostensibly

grown-up men, none of them perhaps under eighteen years of age, ranging from that to thirty years and over. Strictly speaking, they were young men and old men and they all got into it, and it spread out so that before the high tide was reached several were killed, mostly by assassination; but a vast number were driven from the country.

It would make this article entirely too lengthy to review, and mention in detail all of the actors who were connected in this terrible drama, beginning in 1872 and ending in 1876.

To tell of all of the different fights and personal injuries inflicted and received would make a long chapter; but the enormity of this conspiracy consists in the taking of life by assassination of the prominent citizens and heads of families, who were living in the county at the time, and looked upon as reliable, honest citizens. The record shows the following: December 12, 1873, George Bulliner, sr., who was a man of some wealth and prominence and looked upon as honest, sober and industrious, and possessed of considerable energy and enterprise, and was the father of the Bulliner boys heretofore spoken of, was assassinated in broad daylight as he was riding along on the public road on horseback near the west line of Williamson County by some parties who were concealed in a tree top and who had made a blind and were waiting for his appearance. He was shot four times, receiving the discharge of two double-barrel shot guns held by two assassins. The next in line was his son, David Bulliner, a young man about thirty-two years old, who was living with his father adjoining the Sisney farm. He had been to church that night, and on his way back in company with some young people he was fired upon by some parties hidden in a fence corner near the road. He died in a few hours. That was March 27, 1874. The next was, May 15, 1874, James Henderson, a farmer and head of a family. He came from Kentucky and was opening up a farm north of Crainville. He was working in his new ground one afternoon mending log heaps. He lay down to rest on the ground and was fired upon from the woods near by and killed. The next was, May 25, 1874. John Ditmore, a farmer, was assassinated while plowing in his field. It was thought he was killed because he saw the parties who shot James Henderson. Next was, October 4, 1874, Dr. Vincent Hinchcliff. He had been out to visit some patients after night and was returning home horseback. He was fired upon from the woods and killed.

Next was, December 12, 1874, Captain George W. Sisney, who was at that time living adjoining Bulliner's farm in Williamson County. He was shot thru the window in his house while in a conversation with another man by the name of Hindman. It was a severe wound tearing the muscle off of his left arm and severely wounding him in the side. He recovered sufficiently to go to his place. He soon afterwards moved to Carbondale in Jackson County, Illinois, where he lived until July 28, 1875. He was sitting in his house on the north side of the square in Carbondale, conversing with a friend by the name of Overton Stanley when Marshal T. Crain slipped up and watching his opportunity, shot him with a double-barrel shot gun heavily charged, killing him instantly. Next was, July 31, 1875, William Spence, a merchant at Crainville, who owned a store and was sleeping upstairs. Some parties went and called him down under the pretense of wanting to buy some shrouding.

As he was coming to the door with a lamp in his hands he was shot dead. Here we have a list of seven prominent farmers, business men and professional men, who became the prey of the assassin's bullet. There were others who were wounded and injured, but so far as my research goes these are the only deaths that I can find.

Of course, the indignation of the people became aroused in 1874, but the scene of the tragedy and the murders was nearly 12 miles from the county seat; and the county officers, and officers of the law, living mostly at the county seat, were slow to gather up the enormity of the crimes that were being committed. But finally, public sentiment became aroused and two of the best lawyers in this end of the State were employed to assist the prosecution. They were Andrew D. Duff, ex-circuit judge, and Hon. William J. Allen who died while filling the office of United States District Judge at Springfield January 26, 1901. Several of the parties who were most actively engaged in the bloody work were apprehended and one or two of them turned State's evidence on the rest. Quite a number of them were sent to the penitentiary for long terms. Prosecution of these parties, it was estimated, cost the county over $13,000—$4,000 in rewards, attorneys' fees alone $3,650.

The man who assassinated Captain George W. Sisney on the north side of the public square in Carbondale, Illinois, was arraigned before the circuit court of Williamson County, the Hon. Monroe C. Crawford, judge presiding, who is still living at Jonesboro, Union County, Illinois. Marshal T. Crain when so arraigned on the 19th day of October, 1875, entered his plea of not guilty. The Hon. William W. Clemens, now judge of the city court of Marion, a good lawyer and an old practitioner, who has been in the law practice in this city ever since 1863, was appointed by the court to defend Mr. Crain; when they were preparing to take the evidence Mr. Crain changed his mind, withdrew his plea of "not guilty" and entered the plea of guilty. I was present at the trial. It was a most singular occurrence. The State's attorney and those who were assisting him, Hon. A. D. Duff and W. J. Allen, objected to his withdrawing his plea of not guilty on the ground that it was a case of murder and that the jury was the only tribunal empowered by the Constitution to pass upon his guilt or innocence; that it was not necessary for the defendant to plead at all, but by standing mute it was a plea of not guilty. Judge Crawford finally decided to let him withdraw his plea of "not guilty" and let the case be decided by the court. Judge Crawford took up nearly two days hearing the evidence in connection with the two witnesses who had turned "State's evidence" and those to whom Marshal T. Crain himself had confessed to the killing of Captain Sisney. I have before me the partial report of that remarkable hearing.

I will insert the substance of what was said by Judge Crawford, as I believe it is the only case, up to that time, where the court had passed the death sentence upon a defendant upon a plea of guilty of murder. The judge said:

"It is natural to all men to avoid serious responsibility and I would much rather this case had been tried by a jury; but the defendant persisted in his plea of guilty and threw himself on the mercy of the court; and that I might act advisedly, I had the witnesses summoned and brought into court to see if the plea of guilty was really true, as pleaded

in this case; and it clearly appears, not only by the plea, but by the mouths of the witnesses that the defendant is guilty of murder—a murder that seldom occurs in any county, among any people, a murder without passion. Out in the still woods, God's first temple, they coolly and deliberately planned to take the life of their fellow man." The judge and whole audience were much affected. He then went over the circumstances of the killing in a feeling and touching manner. The judge said: "The Legislature in making the death penalty, clearly contemplated that there would be cases arise which would deserve this penalty. By the law we stand or fail. No other crime equals this in coolness and by all the laws of God and man this man has forfeited his life to the people of the State. The responsibility is a great one. I hope to God that never again will a court in a civilized country have this duty to perform. The people in my position, make it my duty to administer the law, and pronounce its judgment. Before God and my fellow man I must do my duty." There were other expressions from the judge in reference to the powers that could give him relief, a warning as to his future; but the closing sentence is as follows: "The sentence of the court is that the defendant, Marshal T. Crain, be hanged by the neck until he is dead, within the walls of the prison in the town of Marion, county of Williamson and State of Illinois, on Friday, the 21st day of January, 1876, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. May God have mercy upon your soul."

With the hanging of Marshal Crain public sentiment became aroused. The leading men and property owners of the county came boldly to the front. They organized a company of militia and set their faces hard against the murderous element. Money was subscribed liberally to employ attorneys, hunt up witnesses, and obtain evidence. Those who were foremost in acting the leading parts were indicted; some plead guilty; some took change of venue to Alexander and Jackson counties, were tried and convicted and sentenced to a series of years in the penitentiary. I have it from the record there were eight of them. I shall not insert their names in this paper, for the reason that some of them are still living. I will only add that most of their sentences were commuted after they had served a major portion of their time; and it is but justice to them to say that since they have resumed their relations of citizenship, they have been honorable, industrious, and law-abiding citizens.

In concluding this paper, I will say that I debated the question in my own mind for some time as to whether or not it would be the proper thing to place this part of our county's history upon the records of this society; but upon reflection I thought it would be as well to let the world know the truth of the terrible tragedies as they actually occurred at the time. It would hardly be expected that I could give all the facts in detail; but only a few of the leading incidents, which show the record of a few of the leading actors of the "Williamson County Vendetta" that has passed into history.

I will close by adding that while our afflictions have been severe, yet, I believe that they have, in the main, had a good effect, because Williamson County now stands amongst the foremost counties in lower Egypt. We have the best and largest coal mines, the best equipped and

conducted railroads. We have the best school system in lower Egypt. Our people, as a rule, are sober, honest, intelligent and industrious; and while we have passed through trials and great tribulations, yet, we stand forth now before the people of this great State as a splendid county, a splendid community and an honor to this great commonwealth.

## THE THIRTY-NINTH ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS, YATES PHALANX.

(By W. H. Jenkins, Pontiac.)

The Thirty-ninth Regiment had its birth during that period of great excitement and the intense feeling of indignation that followed upon the opening act of rebellion—the firing upon Fort Sumpter, Charleston Harbor, April 13, 1861.

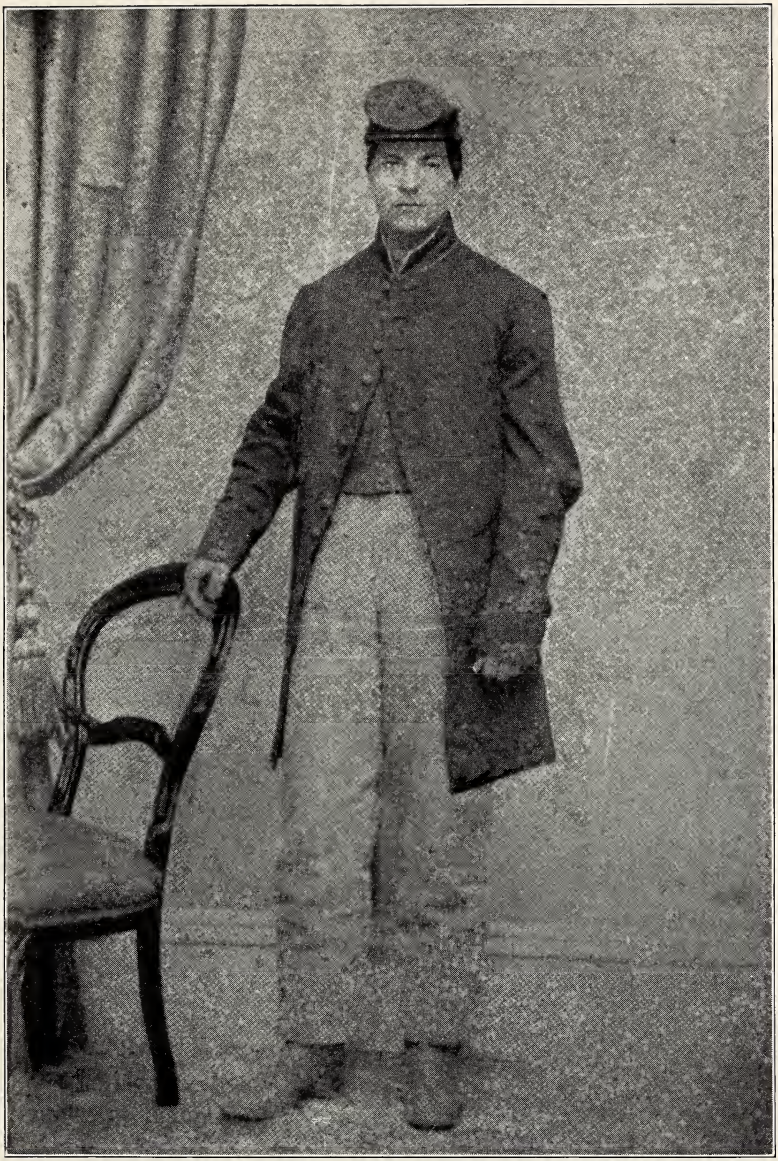
A party of gentlemen had assembled in the law office of Moore & Osborn in the old Tremont Building on Dearborn Street, Chicago, to give expression to the feelings engendered by this outrage and insult to the flag of our country, when it was suggested that a company of infantry be raised at once, and tendered to the Governor of the State. Action was taken and the names of Thomas O. Osborn, Frank B. Marshall, Dr. S. C. Blake, Joseph A. Cutler, George Coatsworth, Dr. Charles M. Clark and a few others were enrolled as members. Soon the idea occurred that it might be as easy to organize and raise a regiment as a company and measures were taken to that end. In less than six weeks' time some thirteen hundred men were ready and impatient for muster into the United States service.

Unfortunately the State had filled its quota under the first call for troops and it was found that the regiment could not be accepted at that time, but was requested to await the next call which it was expected would soon be made; but the men were impatient to get to the front and into active service, and learning that the state of Missouri was behind in raising its proportion of men, the regiment was tendered to the Governor of that state but with a like result, for which I have always been thankful, as we thus had the honor of serving under the name of our own beloved State.

The regiment decided upon bearing the name of His Excellency, Richard Yates, the Governor of the State, and became known as the "Yates Phalanx."

On the 10th day of October, 1861, a beautiful silk flag was presented to the regiment by Miss Helen Arion, the daughter of C. P. Arion, who had taken a lively interest in the regiment from the first. The presentation was made at the close of dress parade by Fernando Jones on behalf of Miss Helen Arion, and the flag was received by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas O. Osborn, who in a few well-chosen words thanked the fair donor in behalf of the regiment and ended by naming her the "Daughter of the Regiment."

On October 11, 1861, at seven o'clock in the morning the officers and men were formed for inspection and for "Muster-in" by Captain Webb, U. S. A. Eight hundred and six officers and men were in line, all being present except Company H, which was in process of recruiting.



W. H. JENKINS,
Young Soldier.

Some little time was occupied by the inspection and when the order was given to raise the right hand and be sworn, the sight was solemn and inspiring, as this body of stalwart and eager men took the oath to defend and ever uphold the Government of the United States of America.

The regiment left that night via the C. & A. R. R. for Benton Barracks, Mo., and from there, on October 31, for Williamsport, Maryland, where they went into camp. On December 15, 1861, the regiment broke camp and departed for Hancock, Maryland, some sixteen miles distant and arrived there on the following day and at once crossed the Potomac River to Alpine Station, Va., having orders to guard the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

The various companies were distributed as follows: Companies A, B, C, and F at Alpine Station and vicinity; Company E at Sir John's Run, six miles distant up the road in the direction of Cumberland, and Companies D, K, and I at Bath or Berkeley Springs, six miles in the interior back of the river. The regimental headquarters being at Alpine in the vacant house belonging to Johnson Orrick, then a member of the Confederate Congress, and who had removed his family to Richmond. Some earthworks were thrown up near the Orrick house for the protection of headquarters that was christened Fort Osborn, but there was never occasion for their use.

The first engagement came on January 8, 1862, when a battalion was attacked by Gen. Stonewall Jackson, with a force of 15,000. By the aid of artillery, the battalion held the enemy in check for twenty-four hours with the loss of three slightly wounded and eight taken prisoners. The service after this was constant and severe. The regiment participated in the battle of Winchester March 23, 1862, in which came the defeat of Stonewall Jackson. The remainder of the year was devoted to service under Gen. McDowell and Gen. McClellan, and finally retreat with the army to Fort Monroe; and from there the regiment proceeded to Suffolk, Va., reaching there September 3, 1862, and made encampment just outside the town.

The regiment was kept busy cutting timber, throwing up entrenchments and forts and occasionally participating in expeditions out to the Blackwater River eighteen miles distant, where there was quite a force of the enemy. On one of these reconnoissances, the regiment had a lively brush with the enemy, capturing two pieces of artillery and forty prisoners, without the loss of a man.

The regiment lost two men at Suffolk—one killed by being struck by a falling tree while at work with his comrades in felling timber for use in constructing redoubts; the other dying from typhoid fever. The work devolving upon the soldiers at this post was immense, and very seldom was there a day that could be devoted to rest or amusement; for when not engaged in work on the entrenchments and forts, there was sure to be an alarm from the advance-guard of the enemy's approach, and the men held in constant readiness for defense.

On January 5, 1863, our division moved out for Chowan River, seventy-five miles distant, which was reached on the afternoon of January 8. It was taken on board transports for Newbern, N. C., which was reached the following morning, January 9.

We were now in the department commanded by General A. J. Foster. Colonel Thomas O. Osborn was placed in temporary command of the brigade here. We were sent some three miles out of the city to make encampment. While at Newbern the regiment received an elegant flag from Governor Richard Yates of Illinois, bearing his portrait, and on the day of its reception at the hour of "dress parade," it was placed in the hands of the "color guard" with appropriate ceremonies. Short speeches were made by several of the officers, the sum and substance being "Never submit to its dishonor or permit its capture by the enemy." The history of the Thirty-ninth shows how well it was guarded and cared for by the many brave men who have constituted the "color guard" during the long and bloody years they were called upon to sustain it. Fully two-thirds of the guard who first received the flag were killed while supporting it at the battles of Drury's Bluff, Hatchers Run, and Darbytown Cross Roads; and it with the other colors of the regiment was honorably and proudly borne back to the "muster-out" at the capital of the State in December, 1865, their folds scarred and rent with rifle balls, but covered all over with glory. The archives of the State contain no better symbols of the bravery and devotion of her sons than the banners of the "Yates Phalanx."

The regiment then was taken to Hilton Head, S. C., where it participated in the siege of Fort Wagner, and was the first to enter, planting the regiment's colors on the parapet two hours before the time set for the general charge.

In January, 1864, the Thirty-ninth was the first in the Department to reenlist for another three years or during the continuance of the war, and be sent home on a thirty days' furlough.

All was in readiness, on the morning of January 28, 1864, to move down to the wharf for the purpose of embarking for home; but it was fully afternoon before the march was commenced, and this delay was occasioned from the fact that three brigades of the division were preparing to escort us, a compliment which gratified every man of the regiment, and the march to the wharf was a perfect ovation. The regiment numbered at this time four hundred and fifty men.

The Thirty-ninth was popular and a favorite in the Department, as evinced on all sides at this time, and the following letters given to Colonel Osborn by Generals Gilmore and Seymour for Governor Yates plainly showed the esteem to our commanders:

"HEADQUARTERS, HILTON HEAD, *January 25, 1864.*

*To His Excellency, the Governor of Illinois.*

SIR: The Thirty-ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, Colonel T. O. Osborn, having reenlisted as a 'veteran regiment,' has been furloughed and will soon proceed homeward. I cannot permit it to leave my command without expressing, so far as I am able, my entire satisfaction with its conduct under all circumstances.

It will display to you, possibly, a state of discipline and excellence of instruction that will not be diminished by contrast with the very best of our volunteer regiments, and you may be justly proud of its past and present efficiency, for which Colonel Osborn, a most excellent officer, deserves great praise.

Your Excellency will, I am sure, afford Colonel Osborn every reasonable facility for filling his command, and you can entrust the interests of your citizen-soldiers to no better hands. And I am,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

T. Seymour, *Brig. Gen. Commanding.*"

On the back of this letter was the following endorsement by General Gilmore:

"Headquarters, Department of the South,
Hilton Head, *January 25, 1864.*

I heartily endorse everything Brigadier General Seymour says of the Thirty-ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteers, and their commanders, and hope the Governor of Illinois will use his influence to have the regiment returned to my command when recruited, unless Colonel Osborn prefers some other.

Q. A. Gilmore, *Maj. Gen. Commanding.*"

On February 6, 1864, the regiment arrived in Chicago and were given a hearty reception and a good supper in Bryan Hall by the lovely, loyal and patriotic ladies of Chicago. After a feast of good things seasoned with the loving smiles of the pretty waiters, some speech-making was indulged in by Lieutenant Colonel Mann and Colonel Osborn, and the festivities closed with a song or two by the Regimental Glee Club. The men then marched to North Market Hall and bivouacked for the night. The following morning the regiment again repaired to Bryan Hall for breakfast and were more than satisfied with what they received at the hands of the ladies.

After breakfast the boys were given furloughs to proceed to their homes and report back to Camp Fry, Chicago, within ten days.

On February 28, 1864, having received about three hundred recruits, we were instructed to report at Washington, D. C. It was a sorrowful time, to break loose from the home ties that bound us, but the remorseless clutch of war had its grip upon every one of us, and it was, Forward, March! We could not help but reflect upon and repeat the sentiments of the poet "I B," who says:

"When fortune has severed the home ties that bind us,
Though peaceful vocations have called us away,
How anxious we feel for the loved ones behind us,
And deprecate every unlooked for delay.
No less do the loved ones partake of the sorrow,
Who bide by the hearthstone, though silent, yet sad;
Not sustained by excitement, or hope for the morrow,
Even fancy refuses to make the heart glad.

But when ruthless war has, with power unrelenting,
Torn warm loving hearts from each other's embrace,
And made to face death with no time for repenting,
How fearful the picture no pencil can trace!
If love to our country and God, without measure,
Shall rule and prevail in each patriot's breast,
We can welcome such trials—yes, hail them with pleasure,
And anchor our hopes in the land of the blest.

It is well at all times to prepare for the parting,
Which falls to the lot of us mortals below,
Earth is transient at best, and the briny tears starting,
Should point to the land where the tear does not flow.
Yes, there is a land that is free from all sorrow,
Where friend can greet friend without fearing to part;
Earth is hollow—our footsteps may crumble tomorrow;
Then 'build on the Rock' and have peace in thy heart."

We arrived in Washington on March 3, 1864, and were provided with quarters for the night at the "Soldiers' Rest."

The following day we crossed the Potomac and went into camp at Arlington Heights, where we remained until April 25, 1864, drilling the new recruits, when we marched to Alexandria and took transports to Gloucester Point on the York River where we were assigned to the First Brigade, First Division of the Tenth Army Corps, temporarily commanded by Brigadier General Robert S. Foster, while the corps was temporarily under the care of General Alfred H. Terry. We remained at this point for several days, reorganizing the regiments, brigades, and divisions of the corps, turning over all surplus equipage and baggage, even to our extra clothing, which was boxed up and either stored away or sent home—thus reducing the command to a fighting condition. On May 4 we embarked on transports to accompany General Butler's expedition up the James River to City Point.

At daylight, May 5, the whole fleet got under way and went gallantly down the York River to Chesapeake Bay, reaching Fort Monroe at 9:00 o'clock a. m. We halted just long enough to get instructions that ordered us to proceed up the James River. We reached City Point about 4:00 p. m., where there were the ruins of some recently burned buildings and where the advance of our fleet had a skirmish with a small body of the enemy. Our division did not stop, but proceeded on to Bermuda Hundred, so called from the fact that a settlement was made there by one hundred persons from the island of Bermuda many years ago.

We landed at Bermuda Hundred and bivouacked for the night in an open field. We were now within fifteen miles of Richmond, and only seven from Petersburg. At break of day we took up the line of march in the direction of Drury's Bluff for a distance of six miles, where we were put to work throwing up intrenchments. At 2:00 o'clock on the morning of May 14, the Thirty-ninth was ordered to advance, being called upon to guard an ammunition train to the front. We reached the front at 2:00 o'clock p. m. and at 5:00 o'clock received orders to advance to the extreme left of Gilmore's line to support a battery of artillery near the railroad. While advancing, the enemy opened up a lively firing with grape and canister, and the men were ordered to lie down. Colonel Osborn, however, still remained upon his horse, "Old Mack," and here it was that he received a wound in the right elbow joint, which confined him to a hospital for some months. Colonel Osborn remained on the field until his regiment occupied the desired position and then reported at the field hospital only because forced to do so from pain and loss of blood.

W. H. JENKINS,
Veteran Soldier.

The battle of Drury's Bluff was in fact the first real battle that the Thirty-ninth was engaged in, and it lost in killed and wounded, one hundred nineteen officers and enlisted men; and the loss to Butler's army numbered fully three thousand. It lasted fully thirteen hours, and was most hotly contested and in many respects it was a remarkable battle, considering the early morning hour in which it began, the dense fog that obscured the combatants up to 7:00 o'clock, and the surprise and the greatly superior number of the assailants. The Thirty-ninth was at one time nearly surrounded, but they heroically cut their way out, bringing with them a large number of prisoners. The deportment of the regiment in this battle was such that it received the personal thanks of the General commanding for their display of heroism and endurance.

On May 20 the Brigade attacked the enemy at Wier Bottom Church, accomplishing their purpose in a most gallant manner. The loss sustained by the regiment in this engagement amounted to seventy killed and wounded and the loss to the brigade was three hundred. On June 2 the regiment sustained about an equal loss in an engagement on the same ground. During the middle of June the command fought General Longstreet's Corps and the regiment lost thirty-five men. On June 22 President Lincoln, accompanied by General Butler and a brilliant staff rode along our line of entrenchments and was greeted with hearty cheers. Nothing of any particular interest took place after the fight of the 16th of June until August 13, there being a lull in military operations along our line.

A heavy loss was met with on August 16, when the regiment assisted in the reconnoissance toward the works at Richmond. In the charge of Deep Run, one hundred and four men were either killed or wounded. Later in the month the regiment fought in the trenches in front of Petersburg, where it was under fire night and day.

On October 7 the Battle of Chapin's Farm was fought, and on October 13 that of the Darbytown Cross Roads, seven miles from Richmond. Of one hundred and forty men who went into that battle fifteen were killed and forty-seven were wounded, of whom I was one. But three officers were left after this battle. During the winter many recruits arrived, and by spring almost a new regiment had been formed. In that period the regiment took part in the military movements which finally wrested the strongholds of Petersburg and Richmond from the enemy.

On April 2, 1865, the regiment took part in the charge upon Fort Gregg, the key to the works about Petersburg and Richmond. This fort was surrounded by five other forts and redoubts, and a ditch six feet deep and twelve feet wide. It fell to the lot of the Thirty-ninth to make this charge and take the fort. It was the first regiment to gain the waterway and plant its flag. Only by digging with swords and bayonets could footholds be secured on the slippery ascent to the parapet. Here a desperate hand-to-hand struggle ensued and lasted until the fort was captured. Sixteen members of the Thirty-ninth were killed and forty-five severely wounded in this bloody conflict. Soon after reaching Richmond a grand review of the corps was held, and was made the occasion for the presentation of a new flag to the Thirty-ninth by General Gibbons. On the standard was perched a magnificent bronze eagle which

had been especially ordered by him and suitably engraved, to commemorate the gallant conduct of the Thirty-ninth at the assault on Fort Gregg, Va., April 2, 1865.

This was the last general review before the disbanding of the old corps, and it passed off in the most satisfactory manner to all concerned, and especially so to the officers and men of the Thirty-ninth, who were proud as well as grateful to be honored in such a complimentary manner.

After the taking of Fort Gregg, the regiment took the advance of the Army of the James in the pursuit of Lee, and after a series of forced marches by a wide detour succeeded in heading him off, and had the proud satisfaction of seeing the final surrender at Appomattox Court House.

On December 16, 1865, the regiment was mustered out in Springfield, Ill., and its remarkable career ended. The casualties, etc., were:

83 were killed in battle.
61 died of wounds.
25 died in prison.
90 died of disease.
411 were wounded.
4 were drowned.
118 were taken prisoner.
293 were discharged for disability.
34 lost limbs.
191 men were mustered out at expiration of three years' service.
350 men reenlisted as veterans.
844 men enlisted in 1861.
608 recruits were received during the war.
525 officers and men mustered out at close of the war.

The regiment traveled by rail and water 5,038 miles. It marched 1,425 miles, making a total of 6,463 miles traveled.

# NORTHERN ILLINOIS IN THE GREAT WHIG CONVENTION OF 1840.

(By Mrs. Edith Packard Kelly, Bloomington.)

I am indebted to your very worthy secretary and her assistants, The Sangamon Journal, Rock River Express, Chicago American, Peru Gazette, The Whig, Peoria Press, Register and North Western Gazetteer, a number of our pioneers, and my mother for the facts in the following paper:

June 1, 1840, from paper called Old Soldier. Invitation to Springfield Convention, June 3 and 4, 1840:

"One more fire—Suckers to your tents.

"To the old soldiers and log cabin boys of this and adjoining states—Greetings.

"Come in wagons, on foot, canoes, brigs, horseback or schooner—Come. Representatives from Northern Illinois to the Presidential Convention at Springfield, June 3 and 4."

Realizing that the days and years are fast slipping by when one can obtain facts of those by gone days and men from those who were actors or witnesses of such facts, I have endeavored to learn what I could of that memorable campaign of 1840 and those who took part—from research—old newspaper files, old pioneers, and my mother who was at that time a girl of 10 years. What makes the following facts of McLean County so clear to her, was the illness of her father and his part in the celebration. Therefore, as she says, the picture is as vivid to her as if it were but yesterday. That campaign which held so much of weight for our country's welfare was probably the most thrilling, noisy and unique campaign the country had ever known. The Democrats said of the Whigs, that they conducted the campaign on the platform of noise, numbers and nonsense. Many issues of vital interest to the country were taken up at this time and it required candidates not only of brain and brawn, but of much conservative force, decisive yet tactful, to satisfy the people. Some of the most pressing questions of that time were protection versus free trade (a subject still discussed), anti-Masonic factions, Mormonism, Banking Laws and Slavery. Many of the Mormons affiliated themselves with the Whig party, and wished to make stump speeches in Bloomington, but were not allowed to. One man, a Mormon, came to make a speech and was asked to leave town by the Democrats. My great-grandfather, Dr. Isaac Baker, fearing trouble, took him in, fed him and his horse and sent him on his way. I am not much of a politician and do not know what was the best course for the country at that time. But with the Whig party concentrating on William Henry Harrison for President and John Tyler for Vice President, they certainly combined all the forces needed to run something besides noise and non-

sense. Harrison was an Ohio farmer and the Democrats said he lived in a log cabin and drank much hard cider (not a very serious charge); at any rate the Whigs took the hint and adopted both log cabin and hard cider. They held their meetings in log cabins built in the groves and drank much hard cider and sang many stirring songs. Bloomington, McLean County, my home, in 1840, was a flourishing, growing town. The fields of growing corn each year had grown larger, and the tassels of golden grain grew thicker under the thrifty, economical tutorage of the pioneer. The spring of 1840 had been wet and cold, and with a hard times panic, things had looked pretty blue from one end of the country to the other so that a Presidential campaign meant the welfare or woe of all. Bloomington took no little interest in the fight. She was all agog with would-be politicians and some of the real article stump speeches were made in log cabin, hall and tavern; and warm debates made of friends and neighbors bitter enemies all over the country. The Whigs of McLean County were fortunate in having two gentlemen of the highest character and ability who served under Gen. Harrison—Gen. Bartholomew who commanded the militia infantry at the battle of Tippecanoe and Dr. John Henry who was surgeon at the battle of the Thames—and other noble men who took an active part in our country's making. The great state convention and meeting of the campaign was held in Springfield June 3 and 4, 1840, and Bloomington, being the breastpin of Illinois, centrally located, was the meeting place of all the delegations from the north part of the State going to Springfield. The little town had planned a celebration and parade on the day the delegations should arrive there; so for weeks it was busy preparing speeches, building log cabins, obtaining coon skins and live coons, getting cider, etc. Many a red-cheeked apple got its first squeeze in preparing this beverage. The young people, both boys and girls, were rigging themselves out for the great day. Skirts and dresses were starched and dried over a barrel to make them stand out and the white vests got an extra bleach. There had been a hard rain (thunder storm) on May 29 and the ground though wet was dotted here and there with spring flowers. The trees wore their most beautiful green and the sweetbrier rose and cinnamon pink made the air fragrant with their perfume when June 1, Monday, the day of the town's celebration, arrived. Delegations came pouring into town from every direction and the toot of the stage horn brought visitors to most of the homes. Babbs Tavern situated on Front Street between Center and Main was the meeting place of politicians of both factions, and I fear some strong arguments were held there over the lunches served. Banners and flags and great streamers of red, white and blue hung from every house top and steeple. The little town looked like a flower garden. A rope was stretched across the street at the corner of Main and Front Streets, from Cheeney's store to the building opposite, from east to west, and strung with small barrels labeled hard cider, coon skins and red, white and blue. Barrels of hard cider, mother says exceedingly hard, some say whiskey, were placed at short intervals along Main Street from Olive to North Street with a tin cup hung at their side and an invitation for everybody to help themselves. There was no charge for food or drink in the town that day. Some of the Whigs were dressed in Continental costume and others with coonskin caps, buckskin

blouse and trousers. At a previous meeting it was arranged that eight men who had served under Gen. Harrison should represent McLean County at the Springfield Convention. After this was done the question of transportation, costume, decorations, etc., was discussed. It was decided to cut an immense walnut log and hollow it to form a canoe. This was to be the conveyance for the eight men. It was twenty feet long and was mounted on wheels. On the sides were white banners on which was the motto, "A long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether." The decorations were coon skins and flags and a small log cabin. It was drawn by eight of as fine white horses as the county possessed. Each delegation vied with its neighbor as to who should have the most unique turn out. The canoe with its eight prancing horses was brought to Babbs Tavern, from which place the procession was to start. People from all portions of the State north came from all directions bringing their provisions and blankets for camping out. The prairies for days were covered with crowds of people on horseback, in wagons, and on foot, singing songs, drinking hard cider and discussing the issues of the day until arriving in Bloomington. A merry, noisy time was had, yet no drunkenness was seen anywhere. At a given signal of fife and drum, the parade started, headed by the first brass band of the town and three men with fife, drum and flag in Continental costume. Mother says of these three men, one was very tall. Then came the canoe in which rode the eight venerable men. They were dressed in Continental costume, three-cornered, cocked hat, wearing epaulets with red and white rosettes, and with strips of red flannel cut in a fringe down the sleeves and around the bottom of the blouses and down the pants legs. The oldest men were seated, the younger ones standing. Those in the canoe were Benjamin Haynes, William Bay, Timothy Gates, my great-grandfather, William Goodheart, Zera Patterson, Jonathan Cheeney, Mr. Haggard and Cunningham. Kersey Fell Newcomb of Sangamon County rode horseback, also Dr. Conkling. The canoe was driven by Andy Hodge, who afterwards lost his life in the Mexican War. Then came a log cabin on wheels with a colored man sitting by the door on a barrel labeled "hard cider," playing his banjo, with a live coon by the cabin and coon skins hung from its walls. Then with a long cavalcade of men and women on horseback, in wagons and on foot, they started east on Front Street.

> Hark! can't you hear the fife and drum,
> The boys all yelling—here they come—
> The tramp of feet, the laugh of the girls
> That looked so sweet with their flaxen curls?

From Front Street, they went north on Main to North Street, now known as Monroe, west on North Street to Center, south on Center to Front Street, east on Front to Main, south on Main to Olive—you see they did not miss a single cider barrel—then west on Olive Street to Center, where a halt was made. My grandfather, Seth Baker, son of Dr. Isaac Baker, lived on this corner where "My Store" now stands. He, being a staunch Whig and very patriotic, but at that time very ill, had his bed moved to the front window upstairs from which he waved a white rag at the men in the canoe. They acknowledged with a salute and songs.

To the tunes of Old Dan Tucker and Yankee Doodle, the parade was now ready for its start to Springfield. They moved down Center Street south, probably to what is now Wood Street, then struck the Springfield road, with delegations from Old Town, Elkhart and places to the north, each section seeing who could sing the loudest or whose fife and drum could play the fastest. The line was a long one, many ladies riding all the way to Springfield. Some of the men footed it all the way in their enthusiasm. The ladies who took part in the parade and all others who could obtain them wore small green and white irregular plaid silk aprons. They were made from a dress of Susanna Dodge Baker, wife of Dr. Isaac Baker; and as dresses of that time were of great dimensions, a good many aprons were made. Some of those wearing these aprons were: Mary A. Baker, Mary Jane Baker, Adeline Greenman, Lucy Dodge and Hannah Harkness. It must have been late when the procession got on its way, for it camped the first night on Salt Creek near Waynesville and it rained. Then at the spring in Elkhart Grove. When they came to the Sangamon River they found it so high they were obliged to swim their horses and wagons across. Those who could swim, did so, those who could not, crossed on a flatboat. They arrived at Springfield the morning of the 3d and found it a very muddy village. No place could be found to stay. Every tavern, boarding house and house was full, so my uncle, Sidney D. Baker, says; so everybody camped out. But all having taken a goodly supply of fried chicken and corn cake, were happy. Dr. Henry, who was one of McLean County's greatest politicians, was one of the best speakers. Thoroly acquainted with all the public questions of the day and age, he was in great demand all over the State delivering speeches. It was largely through him McLean County changed from Democrat to Whig. He was a great admirer of Henry Clay and like him, an emancipationist. He emancipated his own slaves. Gen. Bartholomew, who joined the procession as it wended its way south and who presided at the convention of old soldiers, rode from his home in Mackinaw to Springfield horseback, about 140 miles, in two days. Being enfeebled with age (then 74) and the severe labor of pioneer life and hero of two wars, the exertion proved too much for him. Before he reached home he was taken violently ill and died at his Money Creek residence November 2, 1840, the same day of Harrison's election. No regular army was ever better equipped or drilled than the contending hosts on either side in this big meeting at Springfield. The Whigs had never elected a President and were for the first time united under one banner with bright prospects of success. A most wonderful enthusiasm prevailed in their ranks, such as the Democrats were not able to arouse. Consequently this meeting was one of unusual triumph. Close your eyes and imagine, if you can, what it meant when twenty thousand people assembled in that small town, nearly 5 per cent of the State's population, among whom with Chicago, Cook County's delegation, were Charles Cleaver, Thomas B. Carter and Stephen F. Gale. Securing fourteen of the best teams available and four tents, they captured a Government yawl which was rigged up as a two-masted brig. These masts were made so they could be lowered by hinges, when passing under the trees en route to Springfield. The brig was placed on wheels drawn by six fine gray horses. It was equipped with sailors in white dress with red sashes.

Ten delegates rode in the brig. The Chicago band was on a truck drawn by four bay horses. The musicians were also dressed in white with red sashes. A six-pounder cannon to fire salutes along the way with Captain, afterwards Maj. Gen., David Hunter in command. The brig was thirty feet long, completely rigged from keelson to truck in the most seamanlike manner, from her foremast a streamer and banner bearing the name of the delegation. From her main mast a large streamer bearing the words, "Tippecanoe." From her peak floated the Star Spangled Banner, her signal, a blue flag with a single star, on her bow and stern the name of the vessel, Tippecanoe, on her larboard side this inscription, "After so many shipwrecks a harbor appears," on the starboard side this, "A long pull and a pull together." The deck was manned by officers and regular sailors, amongst the number three young midshipmen. The residue of the delegation were on foot in platoons with a number of banners. One had this inscription, "We demand the keys of the White House." Another bore this motto, "The Whigs of Cook County, tho often beaten, never conquered." This campaign found Cook County solidly Democratic and political enthusiasm ran high Thursday evening, April 6, of that year. A meeting of Federals, or Whigs, as they were then called, was held in the largest assembly hall (called the Saloon) in the city. Archibald Clybourn was called to the chair and John Rogers, Charles Sisson and Dr. Spencer elected vice presidents; George W. Meeker and John Sears, secretaries. Among the many resolutions adopted at this meeting, I quote the following: "Resolved: That the nomination of William Henry Harrison affords the most gratifying evidence that the relentless war of the present administration upon the patience and prosperity of the people is about to be stayed, and that the suffering people are arising in their might to drive the Goths and Vandals from the Capital and restore the glory and prosperity of the Republic. Resolved: That Martin Van Buren is unfit to be the ruler of a free people because we believe him to be neither a sound statesman, a practical Democrat nor an honest man, and further, that especially in this State he has shown himself hostile to her interest by voting against appropriations for the great National Road, for the construction of Illinois and Michigan Canal and the improvement of our harbors. Resolved: That in the venerable John Tyler, the people's candidate for Vice President, we have a fit compatriot of the illustrious Harrison. Born in the same State, reared in the same noble school, hand in hand, they will ably support the threatened columns of the Republic. Resolved: That this city and county will send 100 delegates to meet the old soldiers at Springfield in June. Resolved: That we establish a Tippecanoe Club." J. Butterfield, Giles Spring, William Stuart, John Gage and S. Lysle Smith were appointed a committee to draft a constitution for said club. The campaign was decidedly hilarious up to the time they started for Springfield May 25. The brig sailed up Lake Street in gallant style, the band playing Hail Columbia and Yankee Doodle. The whole affair was done up in the handsomest manner and reflected great credit on the Chicago boys. All this was characterized by the opposition as being the extravagance of the "Young Men's Party," as the Whigs were called. The prairie brig was reported to have the handsomest carriage, horses, harness, etc., that the city contained. And

it was added, "The general opinion is, Chicago has taken an effectual emetic and the people can now sleep nights without being disturbed by the drunken brawlers singing Tippecanoe songs." The first night on the way to Springfield was spent at "Barrys Point," starting for Joliet at 6:30 the next morning. Here they were almost mobbed by the opposing force. It seems a red petticoat was captured from the enemy in Chicago and was exhibited at the public meeting held in Joliet that evening as one of the trophies of war. This stirred up the ire of the Democrats and the next morning when the little procession with flying banners and patriotic music, after crossing the river, passed the store of Messrs. Allen, "Locofoco merchants," a large newly made petticoat hung from ropes stretched across the street with the evident design of impeding the progress of the brig. A part of the rigging was carried away. On the hill tops were crowds of boys and a few men, hooting and throwing stones, disgracing the better element of Joliet's citizens. There were wild rumors of casualties but these proved unfounded. The whole affair was insolent and riotous. But the brave boys marched on and reported that the dwellers in log cabins, our pioneer farmers were with them, with few exceptions. As they approached Springfield, delegates from other places joined them. One of the most interesting things of the convention was the presentation of the brig to the Whigs of Sangamon County by William Stuart, editor of the Chicago American, the Whig organ of Chicago, and the response when Sangamon County reciprocated in presenting Cook County delegates with a noble gray eagle securely tied, asking that it remain so bound while our country was manacled as now by misrule.

All delegates en route observed Sunday, May 30, in the usual way. The Chicago delegation was joined by the Tremont delegation and both spent Sunday at Mackinaw, where services were held by Elder Merriman of the Baptist Church.

## COOK COUNTY WHIG DELEGATES—100 IN NUMBER—TO CONVENTION.

Sidney Sawyer.
Giles Spring.
Isaac D. Harmon.
James A. Marshall.
Chas. K. Bingham.
Walter L. Newberry.
Lewis W. Osborne.
Geo. Raymond.
L. B. Cobb.
S. F. Gale.
Walter Vail.
Chas. T. Stanton.
Wm. H. Davis.
Geo. W. Meeker.
Grant Fredrick.
Buckner S. Morris.
Daniel Hunter.
Geo. Dole.
C. A. Brooks.
John M. Smith.
H. O. Stone.
John S. Wright.
Dr. Leonard Proctor.
Dr. Lewis Post.
Geo. E. Shelley.
John C. Dodge.
Chas. E. Avery.
Wm. Stuart.
Wm. M. Larrabee.
N. K. Towner.
Jas. Marbeck.
S. Lysle Smith.
Robt. Freeman.
G. S. Hubbard.
John Rogers.
John H. Kinzee.
David Hatch.
Geo. W. Snow.
E. H. Haddock.
Erastus Bowen.
James A. Smith.
H. G. Loomis.
Jabez K. Botsford.
L. B. Goodsell.
J. W. Steele.
Geo. Randolph.
C. S. Philips
A. F. Clark.
H. H. Magie.
J. L. Hanson.
J. W. Hooker.
Wm. O. Snell.
Wm. H. Stow.
John Pfund.
J. M. Underwood.
Alex McClure.
A. Chapron.
Sherrod Gilbert.
Theodorus Doty.
G. A. O. Beaumont.
S. Sherwood.
Agustus Burley.
P. F. W. Peck.
F. Mosely.
A. V. Knickerbocker.
C. L. Harmon.

Geo. W. Merrell.
A. Clybourn.
Sylvester Marsh.
A. Rossiter.
Stiles Burton.
Thos. Church.
Wm. H. Taylor.
L. W. Holmes.
Geo. Chacksfield.
John Jay Stewart.
C. DeWolf.
Wm. H. Brown.
Seth Johnson.
Jas. H. Collins.
Jacob Russell.
Justin Butterfield.
J. Young Scammon.
Wm. W. Brackett.
Herman Bond.
L. D. Boon.
Peter Cure.
J. O. Humphrey.
J. B. Weir.
Philo Carpenter.
L. C. P. Freer.
John Funk.
Henry Wolcott, jr.
Geo. L. Collins.
S. W. Salisbury.
Jas. H. Doyle.
Eli Reynolds.
J. Beecher.
Thomas Brock.
J. N. Balestier.

Shortly after the election of Whig delegates in Cook County, a called meeting of Cook County Democrats was held in the same hall and the following committee was appointed to draft a constitution for the organization of a Hickory Club: Hiram Pearson was chairman, George Dellicker and William Church, secretaries.

Among the resolutions adopted was one declaring "That a residence in a log cabin, or the use of hard cider as a beverage, does not endow men with the necessary qualities to rule over a free people. Democracy comes not with eating and drinking but moves with the power and majesty of the people. The log cabins now freckling our eastern cities, sending out in the still hours of the night the drunken sounds, more hideous than ancient orgies of Bacchus, are but trenches to entrap the populace to whom liberty is dear."

An interesting incident: The steamer, United States, came into port flying the flag of the Federals. There were several Democrats with their families waiting on expense for a passage, but refused to go as they considered her a "political brat" wishing to carry no passengers but Whigs. The feeling between the opposing parties was indeed bitter—brother against brother. The Whigs were called the rich man's party, the Democratic party the poor man's party—the former strong in money, the latter strong in votes. A Harrison campaign paper was issued weekly during the time, called The Hard Cider Press, and its prospectus read, "The Presses are warranted to squeeze the juice out in the most thoro manner and will be in full operation till the November election. Let the hard cider suckers come forward and give us their custom. Only 50 cents for the Campaign, published weekly."

## SANGAMO JOURNAL, JUNE 26, 1840.

(Meeting of the Chicago Delegation.)

At a meeting of the Chicago delegates on their return from Springfield at the City Hotel on Saturday evening last, Colonel Johnson was called to the chair and William Stuart appointed secretary.

On motion of the delegates it was unanimously resolved that the thanks of the delegates be presented to Captain Hunter and Colonel Johnson, marshal and assistant marshal, for their satisfactory services on the expedition.

It was unanimously resolved that the hearty thanks of the Chicago delegates be returned to the Sangamon Whigs and citizens at different places on the route for their liberality, hospitality, kindness and atten-

tions, and that this resolution be published in the Chicago American with the request that the Sangamo Journal copy the same.

SETH JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

WM. STUART, *Secretary.*

Delegates from Tazewell County were Henry R. Green (Delavan), Niel Johnson, Derret Higgins, Dr. A. L. Davidson (Tremont), H. Hatch, E. A. Whipple, R. Cullun, Washington Pond.

Washington Precinct—Peter Menard, Benj. Briggs, James Brawhill.

They arrived in Springfield the morning of June 3, together with Cass County and others.

At a meeting of the Young Men's Convention held in the pavilion in the encampment, the following were appointed for president, vice president and secretaries of this convention. Gov. A. M. Jenkins, president. Vice presidents as follows:

E. A. Whipple, Tazewell County.
John Hogan, Madison County.
Wm. Hodge, Fayette County.
Henry I. Wills, Edwards County.
W. Kellogg, Lake County.
C. Ward, Stark County.
Jas. Hinde, Wabash County.
R. H. Rose, Schuyler County.
W. J. Philps, Peoria County.
J. H. Thompson, St. Clair County.
Morris Still, Dupage County.
N. W. Edwards, Sangamon County.
W. F. Gray, Knox County.
John Casswell, Morgan County.
Gen. J. B. Moore, Monroe County.
H. H. Gear, JoDaviess County.
J. Blackstone, Will County.
Amos Prentiss, Shelby County.
W. B. Stapp, Warren County.
John Bennett, Menard County.
J. K. Lawrence, Macoupin County.
John Chestnut, Lawrence County.
John Hinton, McDonough County.
Wm. Stuart, Cook County.
Dr. H. Conklin, McLean County.
R. Latham, Logan County.
C. B. Hudson, Kane County.
Hardin Bigelow, LaSalle County.
C. G. Thomas, Rock Island County.
A. Langworthy, Bureau County.
Wm. Fund, Marshall County.
S. P. Doty, Boone County.
Wm. Lowry, Dewitt County.
S. C. Hagans, Ogle County.
J. C. Pugh, Macon County.
Wm. Moore, St. Clair County.
Chas. Gregory, Greene County.
Dr. Fitch, Bond County.
F. C. Russell, McHenry County.
S. H. Little, Hancock County.
D. Richards, Stark County.
John Hite, Coles County.
Eli Hall, Winnebago County.
Z. M. Garbutt, Pike County.
S. Hallery, Montgomery County.
A. M. Brailey, Lee County.

SECRETARIES.

B. C. Haines, McLean County.
J. H. Mitchell, Warren County.
Wm. Brown, Morgan County.
John Rogers, Cook County.
G. G. Bowman, Wabash County.
Benj. Bond, Clinton County.
R. L. Wilson, Will County.
W. Wise, Peoria County.
Gen. J. Rabb, Marshall County.
B. Kellogg, jr., Tazewell County.
Dan L. Webster, LaSalle County.
Jos. Gillespie, Madison County.
C. H. Morton, Shelby County.

A resolution was passed that five men be appointed by the chair to draft resolutions expressive of the objects and views of the convention. They were: Dr. Henry, McLean County; J. J. Hardin, Morgan County; J. K. DuBois, Lawrence County; C. D. Morrison, Randolph County; William Stuart, Chicago. S. Lysle Smith of Chicago, and others,

addressed the convention. Delegations from Cook, Will, Lake, Bureau, Stark and Marshall arrived and were shown their encampment in Springfield, 2:00 p. m., June 2. Then Tazewell, Peoria, Menard and Macon counties arrived.

Mercer County sent 2 delegates to the convention. Rock Island County sent 11 delegates, one John Miller. Whiteside County sent 7 delegates, one Jabez Warner. Carroll County sent 15 delegates, one J. A. Wakefield. JoDaviess County sent 19 regular and 107 other delegates. Ogle County sent 17 delegates, one J. D. Stephenson. Winnebago County sent 12 delegates. Lee County sent 14 delegates, as follows:

Thomas McCabe.
I. Cutshaw.
S. C. McClunn.
Horace Benjamin.
Oliver Everett.
Elijah Dixon.
John Morse.
W. F. Bradshaw.
David Welty.
F. W. Coe.
S. A. Mason.
W. W. Graham.
Cyrus Chamberlain.
Z. Philipps.
G. A. Martin.
W. Y. Johnston.
Thomas March.
Joseph Crawford.
Richard Bailey.
D. A. Hawley.

Appointed at Galena, April 18. From "Galena Gazette."

There were delegates from Indiana with badges bearing this inscription, "The enemy are giving. One more fire and victory is ours."

LaSalle County delegation bore a banner on which was the inscription, "Our constitution as it is, and not as demagogs choose to understand it." On the reverse side was a likeness of General Harrison and Van Buren and this motto, "Corruption wins not more than honesty." Its delegates to the meeting were Daniel Webster, Mr. Coffin and Mr. Hawley. The latter was a very eloquent speaker.

June 5th Sangamo Journal has the following: "After the procession was over a barbecue was held, after which Messrs. Webster, Coffin and Hawley of LaSalle addressed those assembled."

## SANGAMO JOURNAL OF JUNE 5, 1840.

Mr. Editor: I was among a large number of ladies who listened at Dr. Houghan's after the barbecue to the delightful speaking of the three young delegates from LaSalle: Daniel F. Webster, Mr. Coffin and Mr. Hawley. Pray call on those gentlemen to make their speeches public.

Mr. Hawley's winding up was one of the most impressive specimens of eloquence I ever heard.

By making this call you will much oblige a Whig lady of Sangamon.

This speech was made at the barbecue and the reply in the Peru Gazette and copied by Sangamo Journal.

## SANGAMO JOURNAL, JUNE 26, 1840.

(Incidents connected with the 3d and 4th of June.)

The readers will recollect that Messrs. Webster, Coffin and Hawley were called upon through this paper by a Whig lady and others for

publication of the speeches delivered by them on the 4th at Dr. Houghan's. Mr. Hawley, editor of the Peru Gazette, thus replies: "We copy the following communications from the Sangamo Journal. For our own part, as one of the individuals referred to in them, we would procure a stereotype mould and melt our material, head, brains and all, and run them into a speech to gratify the wish of a Whig lady. But, after all, we fear it would not be the speech which the enthusiasm of the great convention called forth. The individual who could not have been eloquent on such occasion, before such an audience so large a portion of whom were ladies, must have had a stony heart, carroty brains, whip leather veins, and look of curdled milk colored with elderberry juice, running through them. If, however, we can get the Whig steam up sufficiently high to recall the words which came, 'Skelper rank and file,' on that occasion, we may perhaps hereafter answer the call made upon us. We presume the feelings of the other gentlemen named correspond with our own."

Schuyler County delegation had band of music, a flag, the Stars and Stripes, with the motto, "The spirit of '76," and on the reverse side, "Unceasing Hostility to Usurpation." On a streamer over the flag, "Harrison and Reform," on another flag, the log cabin and barrel of hard cider, motto, "Harrison, Tyler, and Reform." A flag from the young men of the county, the Stars and Stripes—the motto on one side, "Our Country's Hope," on the other side, "The Boys of Schuyler," also a streamer with motto, "Old Tip & Tyler." Stephenson County delegation had a banner device, a representation of the aurora borealis; motto, "The North Will Come to the Rescue." There were ten delegates, one of them O. W. Brewster.

Dupage, Knox and Boone counties all sent delegations. Tazewell County delegation was preceded by their fine band of music. This delegation had one large banner, on one side of which was represented a post rider in full haste, followed by the Irish schoolmaster and boys from a schoolhouse in the background. Over the top was a scroll containing the words, "Boys, Do You Hear That?" On the reverse was the American Eagle with an appropriate motto. A great variety of banners and flags followed. Dewitt County delegation had the following delegates: Hugh Bowles, William Lowrey, Charles Maltby, Henry Deshon, James Brown, Dr. Thomas Laughlin.

Winnebago County with Eli Hall, George Lee and Anson Burnum delegates.

June 19, 1840, the Sangamo Journal has the following: Notice of resolutions adopted by the Tazewell County delegation, thanking the people of Springfield for their kindness to the delegation. Signed, Wm. Davenport, Chairman; David March, Secretary.

## SANGAMO JOURNAL, MAY 29, 1840.

### (Dewitt County Meeting.)

At a meeting of the citizens of Dewitt County, friendly to the election of Harrison and Tyler, held in Clinton on the 16th day of May, 1840, Hugh Bowles was called to the chair and Wm. Lowrey and Charles Maltby appointed secretaries.

On a motion of Henry Deshon, James Brown was called upon to state the object of the meeting.

On motion the chair appointed Dr. James Brown, Dr. Thomas Laughlin and William Lowrey a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the design of the meeting.

The committee, after being absent a short time, returned with the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Delegations from Iowa had a banner bearing this inscription, "Iowa cannot vote but she can and will speak." My great-uncle, John Baker, attended.

Lake County delegation had banner; motto, "To Harrison, Tyler and Reform."

Macon County had delegation with badges.

There was a delegation from Bureau County and delegates:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dr. R. J. Woodruff. | Daniel F. Webster. |
| Jos. W. Kinney. | Oliver Boyle. |
| Mell Thompson. | B. G. Simpleton. |
| James Wilson. | Egbert Colter. |
| David A. Glenn. | Theodore Nichol. |
| S. Ferril. | Joseph Smith, jr. |
| Enos Smith. | Alexander Boyd. |
| Alfred S. Thompson. | J. L. Ament. |
| Seth Clapp. | E. H. Phelps. |

—(Sangamo Journal, April 10, 1840.)

Bureau, Lake and Marshall counties had canoe called The Two Paths, 33 feet long and drawn by four gray horses. Canoe contained twelve old soldiers. There were six teams with tents and provisions.

Montgomery County delegation had seven banners, one as follows: on one side, "A four years' nest," on the other side perpendicular, "Harrison & Tyler."

McHenry County, Edwards County, Warren County and Stark County each had a delegation.

Hancock County delegation had a banner with this motto: "Harrison and Tyler." "Set down to the credit, a Whig majority of 600."

Will County delegation bore a satin flag. On the one side an anchor and a motto, "Harrison." On the reverse, "Constitution." Also another white flag. On one side the American Eagle, seated on a barrel, labeled, "Hard Cider."

Menard County delegation carried a blue banner with the motto, "Harrison and Tyler," on the reverse, "Menard."

Peoria County delegation had a number of flags and banners. First, a banner on one side represented a log cabin over which is the American Eagle and over this the names of Harrison and Tyler. On the other side a barrel of hard cider with a boy engaged as tapster and the motto over, "Old Tip's claim to the White House cannot be jumped."

Second, a flag, American eagle, with thirteen stars on each side. On the one side is the motto, "Harrison and Tyler—By these we conquer." On the other, "Illinois true to her first Governor."

Third, a flag with the eagle and thirteen stars on each side. On the one side, "No sub-treasure." On the other, "No standing army."

Fourth, the National Flag. Motto, "Harrison and Tyler."

At the Peoria County meeting May 4, T. N. Welles, Isaac Cutter, C. W. Stanton, D. H. Frisby, S. Alexander, James Waters, W. P. Smith, W. P. Blanchard, J. Wolcott, D. Belcher, A. P. Lane, J. Adams, George Kellogg, J. W. Phelps, Edson Harkness, Calvin Cass, Eli Willson, J. Wickware, S. F. Bollinger, D. R. Gregory, J. Congleton, J. R. Congleton, Thomas Smith, Nelson Buck, William Martin, I. G. Lineback, Ebenezer Martin, J. H. Work, G. S. Evans, L. L. Cryer, Hiram Wiley, J. R. Forsythe, William Adams, Henry Aiken, J. Jackson, W. G. Wilkinson, G. B. Harlan, Samuel Chase, H. C. Merrill, R. Campbell, J. Hines, J. Schnebly, West Hide, N. Chapin, R. B. Hamlin, S. Reed, A. Laveille, H. Cleveland, M. Pratt, C. Kimball, E. N. Powell, G. T. Metcalie, E. S. Buxton, G. W. Read, Benjamin White, Jos. Detweiller, A. A. Benjamin, J. C. Frye, J. A. McCoy, L. Holland, C. W. McCallen, H. O. Merriman, G. W. C. Huse, C. Douglas, M. T. Greeley, F. Summelroth, J. M. Crane, J. K. Cooper, G. P. Dickinson, Edward Dickinson, E. Mason, Alva Moffet, H. Hahn, J. W. Caldwell, John Tuttle, G. C. Bestor, Charles Ballance, J. K. Lowry, J. M. Smith, Lewis Horard, James Crawley, L. McCormick, R. Rouse, S. S. Veacock, N. McKane, W. C. Stevens, William Nixon, James Morrow, J. Harrison, John Hill, J. C. Armstrong, T. E. Mayne, J. H. McCall, J. Hunter, H. A. Green, Thomas J. Moore, George Pulsifer, J. M. Wiley, Alyff Schepard, Samuel Roedecker were made delegates to convention.

Ogle County delegation with the banner on which the motto was, "Death or Victory for Harrison and Tyler"; badges with the motto, "Ogle to the rescue."

Clinton, Lee, Mercer, Cass, Whiteside, Sangamon, delegations two miles in length, six abreast.

Brown County with banners was in line.

Cass County delegation had one of the most beautiful devices in the procession. The following is the description: A large boat—the "North Bend of Beardstown," right banner representing General Harrison as the farmer of North Bend at his plough, in the rear, a log cabin and barrel of hard cider, left banner—a steamboat, the "Old Tippecanoe," with a signboard hanging out for Washington City; with three barrels of hard cider on the boiler deck; on the pilot's stand, a painting of Sam Weller with his fingers on his nose, saying: "You can't come in, Matty." On the right side of the boat was a motto, "Freemen rally!" On the left, "Union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union." On the stern, "North Bend." This exhibition was drawn by six horses with postilions.

Fulton County, Whiteside County and Calhoun County had each a delegation.

Morgan County delegation had banner and agricultural implements. Motto, "Morgan County will attend to her crops and her rights, too." Also, a canoe with twenty old soldiers.

St. Clair delegation had A. M. Jenkins, who was made president of the young men's convention, as one of her delegates, together with William Padfield, Samuel Redwood, John Stuntz, John Messenger, J. R. Cannon, Edward W. West, William Moore, V. Jarrot, John Flannagan, John Murray, Benjamin Hypes, George Stuntz, G. W. Ralph, L. Penconneau, Abram Lincoln, William Primm, F. Moffett, John Hogan,

T. Grimsley, W. D. Morrison, J. Denny, delegates, and 300 young men in line. The call of duty to our country was heard with the naked ear; duty never has to yell through a megaphone, talk on its fingers or write follow-up letters. The Nation heard the call. At any rate, all suckerdom awoke as if an audible voice from heaven called to "Awake to the country's need."

"WHEN THE SUCKERS WOKE UP."

Oh, it's splendid to know
We have never lost track of that long, long ago—
The old gate of memory swings open wide,
The folks that you knew and others beside
Are again side by side in grand parade,
Walking the street our thoughts have made.

The men who attended that convention are about all passed to their reward, and of those men how little of the real facts of their lives has been preserved. Family tradition points to this ancestor or that, but when you look for something official there is usually the long search in some State archive, adjutant general's report or pension office. Then how little is found. What a mistake not to preserve more carefully what in after years but seems the hinges for opening the doors of the past.

The last three stanzas of one of the 1840 campaign songs:

Before the unfurl'd flag "Reform,"
We'll swear to do or die,
And every Western bosom warm
Raise Freedom's battle cry.

Loud let the song from vale and hill
Resound the Union through,
And loud huzzas that Union fill
For brave Tippecanoe.

And let the spotless robe of one
Who wore it long and well
Fall stainless on our Harrison,
Our second Washington.

From the Chicago Tribune, 1840 (then a semi religious paper, before it united with the Chicago Democrat.)

The Springfield carouse is one procession of flags, ships, log cabins and hard cider barrels, the last not always empty * * * everything to excite and delude, nothing to convince; every appeal to the imagination, nothing to the judgment. * * * A drinking frolic on a great scale—a mere political orgie.

We thus describe it, more in sorrow than in anger; we had hoped better things.

We have no fear of the hard cider celebration, tho it is claimed it is to be the cure for the hard times. * * * Wonder if they mean it for legal tender? A light head is but a fool's consolation for a light pocket!

# SOUTHERN ILLINOIS AND NEIGHBORING STATES AT THE WHIG CONVENTION OF 1840.

(By Mrs. Martha McNiell Davidson, Greenville.)

I have been assigned to recount the part that Southern Illinois took in that memorable meeting which occurred in this city nearly three-quarters of a century ago. A glance back over the sweep of years and all the events which have occurred in Illinois, "with all her wondrous history" and "without which the nation's history could not be writ," is so bewildering and so stupendous that it almost appalls one to attempt to recount in any methodical manner even a synopsis of the record of any special event.

Our subject perhaps partakes largely of a political nature, and one friend has jokingly charged me with coming to Springfield to join in a "love feast," to which I returned no dissenting rejoinder, since it is a "love feast of reminiscences," a review of rich historical data, which to a large extent has been neglected or, perhaps o'ershadowed by what to some seemed of greater moment.

But the meeting of 1840 was the culmination into form of a growing unrest which found expression in certain well defined issues in this city of Springfield in June, 1840. The meeting was a protest against the then existing political conditions and the administrations which had immediately preceded it, and which I have no intention to discuss. It might be well, however, to note in passing that politically the convention declared for certain reforms which have since seen full fruition, though brought about by political agencies which had other names than that of Whig. The name Whig was an importation from Scotland and England, and in that day was a common term which generally designated those who advocated reforms and more generally and naturally those who were most often opposed to existing forms of government. The term as thus understood was particularly applicable at this time. The Whig party was really the "John the Baptist" of the Republican party.

In those days the campaigns of education did not find their channels through the newspapers then existing, as now, due largely to the lack of the present day facilities now afforded that great channel of education, but were exhibited through great parades, crudely fashioned after the old Roman parades and visual demonstration of sentiment by overt acts and signs. The political parades and the conventions constituted the great national means of political education. The exhibition of banners labeled with all sorts of terse sentences, designed to catch the eye and carry a mental impression, appeals to the intellect and the prejudice as well of the observers, of whom there was no lack, was a chief endeavor. This convention was not unlike the customary one of that day. The political convention which delegates attended and which

was the glory of the men folks, has only in the last few years passed away, to the great regret and sorrow of those who knew them best.

Southern Illinois was at that time the older section of the State in settlement and civilization. It, having been settled first, naturally contained many of the foremost and most influential men of the State at that time. Among those from Southern Illinois who participated in that convention, who were noted at that time or who became so afterwards were: John M. Palmer of Macoupin County, Benj. Bond of Clinton County, Col. J. L. D. Morrison of Kaskaskia, James Gillespie of Edwardsville, John Hogan of Alton, R. Yates of Morgan County.

I shall deal principally with what might properly be termed the minor details of that convention, because it is with that subject that this society just now is concerned. It is interesting to know the names of delegates from each county, those who led, and the details of the proceedings.

## YOUNG MEN'S STATE CONVENTION, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3, 1840.

At a meeting of the Whig Young Men's Convention, held at the pavilion in the encampment, this day at 8:00 o'clock a. m., the committee appointed by the convention to recommend suitable persons for presidents, vice presidents and secretaries of this convention, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, to wit:

"*Resolved,* That we recommend to the Whig Young Men's Convention to meet at this place at 2:00 o'clock p. m. this day, to organize by choosing Gov. A. M. Jenkins, president, and as vice presidents from Southern Illinois: John Hogan, of Fayette County; Amos Prentiss, of Shelby County; J. K. Lawrence, of Lawrence County; John Chestnut, of Macoupin County; J. H. Thompson, St. Clair County; N. W. Edwards, Sangamon County; John Casswell, Morgan County; Gen. J. B. Moore, Monroe County; William Moore, St. Clair County; Charles Gregory, Greene County; Z. M. Garbutt, Pike County; Dr. J. W. Fitch, Bond County; S. Hallerey, Montgomery County.

The secretaries chosen were: G. G. Bowman, Wabash County; Jos. Gillespie, Madison County; Benjamin Bond, Clinton County; C. H. Morton, Shelby County; William Brown, Morgan County."

The log cabin and hard cider jug were adopted as Whig emblems because of the Democratic charge that if Harrison had a jug of hard cider in a log cabin he "would be content the rest of his life." The parade seems to have been, if not the most important, the most spectacular feature of the convention, which proves that youth naturally clings to pompous exhibition or military display—

"Men are only boys grown tall,
Hearts don't change much after all."

I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, honored secretary of this Illinois State Historical Society; also to H. W. Clendenin, editor of Illinois State Register; to the editor of the Illinois State Journal, and to W. A. Kelsoe, one of the editors of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, for their aid in securing authentic data from the files of some of the oldest newspapers in regard to this convention in 1840.

From the "New Era" of June 8, 1840, a Whig newspaper published in St. Louis, the following item concerning the Whig rally was found: "The convention of young men at Springfield, Ill., was a grand affair, and there were about 10,000 persons in the procession, which was two and one-half miles long. The number of strangers in town was estimated at from 12,000 to 15,000."

Mr. A. B. Chambers, one of the proprietors of the Missouri Republican, now known as the St. Louis Republic, attended the Whig convention as a reporter for his paper. Letters telling of his trip to Springfield and of the arrival of many delegations were printed in the issues of June 5 and 6, and on June 9 a full report was given of the several meetings and the big parade which occurred on the morning of June 4. He speaks thus of "things on the way": "On our journey it soon became evident that unusual enthusiasm pervaded the whole country. In numerous instances, from farmhouses on the road and off at a distance, banners were streaming and flags floating. Most of the delegates from Madison, St. Clair, Monroe, etc., had preceded us. At Locust Grove, the residence of Mrs. Paddock, a few miles beyond Edwardsville, the ladies of that beautiful residence had erected a Civic arch. Posts were planted at either side of the wide road and a post in the center, all ornamented with wreaths of flowers and evergreens. A garland of roses and other flowers was extended over the entire road and on the center post hung a transparent banner with Harrison's name inscribed in gilt letters, the delicate work of the fair hands which made the wreaths." Mr. Chambers said he tried to make note of all the delegations as they marched by, but found the task too irksome to describe all in full. The Illinois State Register and Springfield Journal also wrote up the different delegations. Each county had its own delegation, generally preceded by a band.

## DELEGATIONS AND THEIR BANNERS.

Greene County delegation preceded by a band of music. This delegation was dressed out with green bushes and nearly every man had several heads of green wheat in his hand. The following is a list of the banners:

1. A beautiful flag presented by the ladies of Carrollton of white silk with a representation of the White House and William H. Harrison ascending the steps, beneath a motto, "To Save the Country," with thirteen stars of gold leaf—the above encircled with a wreath of roses; on the opposite, two bushes of thorns and encircled with a wreath of roses, with thirteen stars of gold leaf; motto, "Thorns for her Country's Foe—Fragrance for her Defenders."

2. Blue silk flag with twenty-six silver leaf stars on each side. On one side, "Harrison and Tyler," and on the other, "Down with Experiments."

3. Yellow flag from Whitehall with an eagle, "Harrison and Tyler," and on the opposite, a motto, "In time of peace we support him who in times of danger protected us."

4. White flag from Bluffdale. Motto, "Harrison and Tyler"; on the other side, "Don't give up the ship." A bark canoe, drawn by two horses, filled with Harrison soldiers; motto, on one side, "Don't give up the canoe," and on the other, "Wm. H. Harrison, the People's Friend."

St. Clair County delegation.—This delegation had a number of devices and flags. One of their flags had a log cabin upon it with the motto, "We will never abandon the Constitution."

2. A banner surmounted by the American eagle. Motto, "Harrison and Tyler."

3. A large banner, likeness of Van Buren sitting on a sub treasury chest, clasping a bag of mint drops; on his right appears 200,000 militia and blood hounds. Motto, "Patent Democracy."

4. The American flag. Motto, "The prairies on fire—the people moving—Baltimore Convention, 30,000! *Boys, do you hear that?*"

5. A flag on which was the likeness of General Harrison. Motto, "Farmers' Choice, American Liberty of '76." The portrait of Harrison encircled by the implements of husbandry.

Clark County delegation with badges. Motto, "True as Steel."

Fayette County delegation was preceded by a veritable log cabin ornamented with raccoon skins and other emblems of frontier life—latch string not pulled in—a canoe drawn by four horses—on the sides, "Harrison, Tyler and Reform"—in it a barrel of cider. On the canoe, a banner presented by the ladies of Vandalia through Miss Jane Field—above on a scroll, "Our Hope," and the whole length, "Harrison and Tyler"; at the left, below, a log cabin with a bell to the latch string—in the green yard a barrel of cider and a plow—towards the right a lake and on it a canoe on the miniature flag of which was "The prairies on fire," and at the extreme right, "Fort Meig, Tippecanoe and the Thames."

2. A plain, white flag, on one side of which was, "Union for the sake of the Union." Another, "Herald of Better Times." There were other banners having various devices.

Montgomery County delegation with seven banners, four of them with the following mottoes: "Spirit of '76"; "Ra'al yearnest"; "Perpendicular"; "Harrison and Tyler." The three others, the Stars and Stripes.

Christian County.—Delegation with badge and banner with this inscription: "W. H. Harrison, a safe sub treasurer, that never gave legbail to his farm or his country."

Then followed delegations from Missouri, Indiana and Iowa.

Lawrence County delegation with badge and banner on which was printed a log cabin with motto: "Lawrence—she will teach the palace to respect Log Cabins."

Monroe County delegation with over one hundred delegates in line.

Madison County—

1. Banner, "Old Madison good for 600 Majority."
2. "The old Dominion for our gallant son."
3. "Harrison and Tyler and Reform."
4. "Old Virginia never tires."
5. "Wm. Henry Harrison, the American Cincinnatus."
6. "Democracy without Corruption."
7. "General Harrison is a coward."—Tom Benton. "'Tis false—I have fought under him and know him to be a brave man and soldier.—R. M. Johnson."
8. Alton City delegation.

9. A splendid white silk flag with purple stripes and gold stars presented by three ladies of Alton upon which were the following devices: the eagle in gold with a scroll, "Harrison, Tyler and Reform," under it a motto, "See the Conquering Hero comes." On the reverse side, "Sons of Freedom wake to Glory."

10. A serpent entwined around the staff of the American flag nearly prostrated—a large eagle is perched upon the staff with the head of the serpent in his beak—over the top of the banner was the motto, "The voice of the people"; under it, the motto, "So perish tyrants."

11. A white silk flag borne by a gardener upon which was the device: a rake, hoe, shovel and fork, grouped with the motto, "No cash sweetens the gardener's toil."

12. A banner borne by the Upper Alton delegation painted and presented by a lady, representing a scene at Washington on the 4th of March, 1841—Clay and Webster standing on the steps of the porticoes of the White House receiving Harrison and Tyler. A group of ladies were strewing flowers in their paths. Matty is seen in the distance in his English coach and liveried servants drawn by six horses, with his head projecting from the window, exclaiming, "My name is Haines"—turned toward him is the porter with the key of the White House, saying, "You can't come in, Matty."

13. A second banner borne by same delegation and painted and presented by the same lady, representing the union of Purse and Sword, a massive stone building representing the sub treasury with Van Buren seated upon a large iron chest between the pillars at the entrance and the key upon his knee, casting about a very stealthy look—directly in his rear stands General Jackson with his finger upon Matty's shoulder, also surrounded by Benton, Kendall and other confidential friends—in front of Van Buren is a person with a very submissive and imploring look, pointing with one finger to the purses which Matty grasps in his hands, the one labeled $50,000 and the other $100,000—in the background is Van Buren's standing army of 200,000 men in the clouds of whose dust is to be dimly seen a demon approaching Van Buren with a crown—in the foreground is to be seen Swartout and Price, making off with lengthy and rapid strides, bearing on their shoulders the frame of a sack labeled $1,200,000, the latter $600,000; the whole of this representation a moonlight scene.

14. A banner representing Van Buren's grammar and arithmetic with exercises in each.

15. A flag borne by an old soldier of the Madison precinct, representing the Stars and Stripes with an eagle and scroll with the motto, "Harrison, Tyler and Reform."

Clinton County delegation with a banner, on one side of which was the motto, "Once for Jackson, now for Harrison, Tyler and Reform." On the reverse side the motto, "Woe to the man who styled us 'Flag enders.'"

Pike County delegation had a number of flags, banners and devices:

1. The National Flag, on the one side, "Harrison and Tyler"; on the reverse, "Union and Reform." Next came a canoe, 26 feet long (drawn by six white horses), painted white with fine, blue streaks and called, "Tippecanoe of Griggsville," bearing on it a banner with a por-

trait of General Harrison—the Illinois Coat of Arms with the motto, "We come to the rescue." "One Term." "Wm. H. Harrison for the Presidency in 1841."

2. Another flag with a small miniature ship placed on the flagstaff which they called the Harrison banner—with the motto, "Don't give up the ship."

3. The National Flag—a banner with the motto, "Hard Cider."

4. After this came a white flag embossed with roses; motto, "Harrison and Tyler." On the reverse, "To save the Union." Then came a canoe 15 feet long painted white with blue streaks and a banner on it called the Montezuma National; motto, "Harrison and Tyler."

Bond County delegation in this part bore, first, a flag with the device of a log cabin and a barrel of hard cider on one side; on the other, motto, "Suckers to the Rescue."

2. A banner with the likeness of Harrison on one side and on the other, "Martin can't come it." Following this was a banner which was presented to the delegation by the Whig ladies of Montgomery. On the reverse side, the motto, "The log cabins shelter grateful hearts."

Randolph County delegation with a badge. Motto, "The People's Choice—Randolph, the older county in the State will go for Old Tip as sure as fate. Springfield Convention, 1840."

In the Morgan County delegation was a large number of the sons of Erin who carried a banner of green silk with streamers of the same color. The device was a harp surrounded with shamrocks. Over the device was, "Harrison and Tyler." The motto was, "Where Liberty dwells there is my country." "Montgomery—Where is there a battlefield for freedom where Irish blood has not been spilt?" was the motto on the reverse.

Crawford, Hamilton, Marion, Jersey, Clay, Jackson and Washington counties were represented in parade but not described by newspapers.

One of the parade floats was a beautiful log cabin drawn by ten yoke of oxen, and in the cabin was a brass band. Several hundred women were in the parade, whether in carriages, on foot, or on horses is not stated.

Nearly 300 old soldiers also marched in the procession. The Revolutionary soldiers rode in a large carriage drawn by four gray horses.

Those who attended from Missouri, Iowa, and Indiana, were there as guests. In the parade the Missourians marched six abreast. How many were there is not stated, probably not more than two or three hundred. Mr. Chambers complained of the meager representation of St. Louisians. Iowa was then a territory.

The following item was taken from the files of the Springfield Journal, May 29, 1840:

At a meeting in Brownsville, April 27, 1840, of the citizens of Jackson County friendly to the election of Gen. Harrison, the meeting was organized by calling to the chair B. F. Conner, and D. B. Tuthill, secretary.

After the object of the meeting had been stated, Daniel H. Bush, James Roberts and James Harrold were appointed a committee for the purpose of drafting resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. Upon motion, it was resolved that Dr. James Roberts, Guy Scwartz,

Thomas L. Ross, Russell Tuthill, P. C. Hull, Richard Dudding, Garrett Will, Ben Boon, H. S. Legate, Joel Chitwood, Daniel H. Brush, Alex Koser, Richard Worthen, B. F. Conner, Ira Byers, John Mayfield, Peter Krifer, James Harrold, James M. Reynolds and William Boner were chosen as delegates to attend the said meeting.

The Morgan County delegation, about 1,100 in number, encamped at the Methodist camp meeting ground, on Spring Creek, six miles west of the city on Tuesday night, at which place, by invitation, Rev. W. D. R. Trotter delivered a sermon which was highly spoken of.

Prior to the Springfield convention, great mass meetings were held in the different counties, when delegates were elected for the prospective Whig meeting.

## HARRISON AND REFORM.

At a public meeting of the friends of Harrison and Reform held in Waterloo, Monroe County, on the 16th of May for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Springfield convention, Gen. James B. Moore was chosen president of the day and Daniel Converse, secretary.

The preliminary arrangements being completed, a company formed on horseback in rear of regular built canoe, mounted on wheels and drawn by four gray horses, and proceeded to meet a large company of gentlemen and ladies from St. Clair County, and notwithstanding the very busy season of the year, farmers and mechanics, boys, girls, ladies assembled and formed ready to receive them. They soon made their appearance with flags, banners and music, when all formed a procession and marched round the square to a bower prepared for the ladies and the stand for the speakers in the canoe in front of the log cabin, when Mr. Morrison of Kaskaskia delivered a very able, spirited and eloquent address and was followed by Mr. Burd, both proving the very best authority; the corruption and misrule of the present administration, and showing from equally good authority the patriotic and valuable services rendered the country by William Henry Harrison. After which the Rev. Peter Rodgers, an aged Revolutionary soldier, arose and addressed the audience in the language and spirit of '76. Then the music struck up "Yankee Doodle" and the company repaired to a long table covered with an abundance of good bread, ham and cider and cake and pie for the ladies.

At early candle light they met at the courthouse and about 100 names reported as delegates to the Springfield convention, after which Mr. Lawhead delivered a spirited, patriotic and animating address, which was received with loud cheers of applause.

Resolutions of thanks were then passed, thanking the company from St. Clair and also Messrs. Morrison, Bond and Lawhead. Also that the proceedings of the meeting be signed by the president and secretary and forwarded to the editors of the Great Western, St. Louis Republican and Springfield Journal for publication.

After singing a few patriotic and Tippecanoe songs, the meeting adjourned in good order, nothing having occurred to mar the feelings of any one, except a few of the locos who have taken some pains to prepare a

dinner, etc., and having failed to carry out their designs, could only vent their rage in sullen murmurs.

J. B. Moore, *President.*

D. Converse, *Secretary.*

One hundred and thirty-two delegates chosen from Clinton County:

At a meeting held in Carlyle, Clinton County, Ill., the following delegates were appointed to attend the convention at Springfield, June 3-4, 1840:

Daniel Collins, John Dougherty, Jones Hicks, Fountain Nichols, Benjamin Watts, William Tolliff, George W. Brooks, John Pratt, John Milton White, Hugh L. White, Thomas Mattox, Napoleon Mattox, Hiram F. Johnson, Alex Apperson, Alex H. Johnson, David Fleetwood, O. H. P. Maxey, Lewis Allen, Jona Sharp, H. H. McNelley, J. C. Moore, James Wightman, John Claybaugh, jr., J. W. Davenport, George Kenower, David Claybaugh, Ben Nicholson, Harrison Voden, St. Clair Stewart, Abner J. Stewart, Pennington Powers, Samuel Hull, Charles McDonald, Squire M. Stitts, Reuben Rutherford, Daniel Rutherford, Patrick Mullikin, Owen Mullikin, John Coleman, William Lewis, Alva Lewis, William Johnson, sr., William Johnson, jr., Manasseh Cole, Wesley Johnson, Benage Cox, Elan Silkwook, Asa Cannada, Theodore Vornholt, Conrad Vornholt, Peter Young, Francis Wiegers, A. G. Maxey, William McAdams, Martin McFerran, Daniel Griffith, Amos Nicholson, Joseph Gordon, James R. T. Orton, Peter L. Maxey, Ira Burke, Gazaway Nicholson, William Cole, sr., William Cole, jr., Asa Entrekin, Thomas Hooper, Jesse Dunn, Joshua Sharp, John Blackwell, William Nichols, William Puryear, John G. Gillespie, John Gillespie, William J. Foster, Lewis Allen, F. Findley, Abraham McNeal, Isreal Ferree, Cornelius Ferree, Benjamin Nicholson, Jos. Collier, William Robinson, James Lecompte, E. A. Haden, F. Hervey, James Rankin, Zaphas Case, N. Loughry, J. C. Moore, James Jolliff, A. B. Miller, Samuel Webster, Benjamin Bond, Alex Sharp, Levi Sharp, A. Briggs, James Thompson, John Brown, Benjamin Matchler, David Wolcott, William Gipson, jr., James Maddox, James Prather, Peter Cole, Thomas Suggs, Turner L. Nichols, Samuel Tharp, William J. Cooley, John Drake, B. Drake, Abel Pratt, Samuel Loughry, Jubilee Posey, William Frazer, George W. Row, Alex Wells, George W. Burkholder, Henry Sharp, Ira Mattox, Robert R. Tucker, James H. Watts, Isaac Stites, John Clark, sr., John Clark, jr., F. Maddox, B. Drake, John Johnson, Lewis Johnson, William Petrea, Balsam Hicks and Laban Petrea.

## REPORT OF A REPUBLICAN WHIG MEETING.

A meeting of the Whigs of Shelby County was held at the court house in Shelbyville on Tuesday, the 26th day of May, 1840.

On motion of Capt. James Duncan, James Fruit, Esq., was appointed chairman, and F. C. Thornton, secretary, of the meeting.

A committee of five was appointed by the chair, the members of which were: Dr. William Hedden, D. A. Ferguson, Thomas Williams and C. H. Martin.

General Harrison was endorsed for President and the following named as delegates to the convention at Springfield on June 3:

Major John Fleming, Dr. William Headen, Captain John Tackett, John Ward, William Todd, Judge Hurns, A. F. Stewart, Thomas Williams, E. D. Lee, James Hichman, Thomas Handy, C. R. Morton, William Oakley, John Trimble, Thomas Boye, David Elliott, Israel Carpenter, James Fruit, Edward Armstrong, John S. Dooden, M. Duncan, M. Turney, D. A. Ferguson, Major Poor, William Elder, John H. Todd, John Evy, William M. Wright, Isaac Reeve, Jacob McKeene, Charles Tackett, F. C. Thornton, Kinzie Robertson, Charles Wakefield, William Moore, Litten Smith, N. R. Jones, Thomas Headen, John Rose, B. Dunkey, William F. Hilasbuck, Addison Smith, James Hilasback, Amos Prentice, R. B. Erving, John Cook, Benjamin Sims, William Thomason, George Thomason, Henry Bland, Thomas Howe, David Michel, Samuel Montgomery, Ormsby Vanwell, M. M. Basye, Samuel Wright, J. B. Harris, William Hooper, E. M. Doyle, Ravel Wilhams, John Richardson, Charles Ruber, Oliver Stanwood, N. B. Surdam, James Colwell, Abel Stanwood, T. Engler, Mason Kelly, H. A. Dulton, Joel Wagner, William Waddle, James Babcock, George Dye, Christian Hoe, Christian Hines, J. McIver, John B. Harrison, E. Kirtley, T. W. Craddock, James Levers, Bartley Selley, Thomas Starms and Charles Harmon.

*To the Editors.*

GENTLEMEN: I am a citizen of White County—am a devoted personal and political friend of General W. H. Harrison. Having served under him during the late war, I had a strong desire to attend the convention to be held at Springfield on the 3d and 4th of June next, but I find that it will be out of my power to do so.

I can assure you that White County will tell well for General Harrison on the first Monday of November next—at least I can speak for the neighborhood in which I reside. Myself, with six sons, together with every voter within several miles of me, go in solid phalanx for the hero of Tippecanoe.

One word with regard to my deceased father. He was a Revolutionary soldier and pensioner and died on the 16th of November last. The day on which he drew his last pension, on the 4th of September last, while in the pension office, some person present remarked to him: "You fought for our liberties, Father Johnson." "Yes," said he, "I did" (and the tear moved in his eye), "but I have nearly outlived them." The sentence was uttered in reference to the measures of the administration.

I send you a toast to be drank at your celebration. Being a cold-water man myself, I request that it be drunk with nothing stronger than hard cider—"Martin Van Buren and his party: You may begin to quail, for a Waterloo defeat awaits you."

JOHN JOHNSON.

Carmi, May 26, 1840.

Joseph Gillespie of Edwardsville, who was secretary from Madison County at this convention, was elected State Senator in 1847, and was one of the thirteen members who, when the bill for the chartering of the Illinois Central Railroad came up, determined to preserve the principle of taxation as opposed to the payment of a straight percentage on the gross earnings. At this time there was a great scarcity of money, owing

to bank failures. Repudiation of the State's indebtedness thereby incurred became a matter of serious consideration.

John Hogan, one of the principal orators on this occasion, was at one time a Methodist minister, and his home was in Alton, but later he moved to St. Louis. He was afterwards elected to Congress, and was known as "Honest John Hogan."

John M. Palmer, afterwards Governor of Illinois, and Richard Yates, of Morgan County, our famous War Governor, were prominent delegates at this convention.

The then experiment of self-government was in the crucible of test and actual experience. Tho those of us who participate in this meeting are the great-great-grandchildren of those who took part in that convention, and while we have advanced tremendously in modern conveniences, science and refinement, yet it is pleasing to know that our forebears counted among their number those who were then and now as noted for their foresight, knowledge, refinement, and ability as any who live today. Human nature has not changed, and at this time we pause in the forward, splendid march of progress to turn and look back down the slope of time to observe and contemplate the road over which the former generations have passed.

And so has this noted but heretofore unnoticed convention been a material part of this State's history. Geographically located in a veritable Garden of Eden, Illinois has written her history in glory and taken her stand among the foremost states. Her sons have been found worthy and glorified by the sister states. The impulse which prompted the convention of 1840 was greater and deeper than the mere carrying of banners and the participation in parades. These were only the outward signs. Deeper in the hearts of those who now sleep the sleep from which there is no waking on earth, was the desire for a freer and a better government, a greater opportunity for the higher spirit of men to reign, a determination that all that was best in government should survive and a patriotic desire that full freedom of mind and body should find its fullest fruition in the future life and history of the government which they were determined should live—live as a shining answer to those who sneeringly predicted its downfall and demonstrated that the common citizen was worthy to govern and that it might always be truthfully said, "One flag, one land, one heart, one hand, one nation evermore."

# THE YOUNG MEN'S CONVENTION AND OLD SOLDIERS' MEETING AT SPRINGFIELD, JUNE 3-4, 1840.

(By Isabel Jamison.)

Probably the most spectacular political campaign ever staged by the American people was that of 1840, popularly known as "The Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign," which resulted in placing General William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, in the Presidential chair.

The "log cabin and hard cider" designation was said to have originated with the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Republican, who sneeringly said of General Harrison:

"Give him a barrel of hard cider and settle a pension of $2,000 a year upon him, and our word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days contented in a log cabin."

The Whig party supporting General Harrison was quick to take advantage of this suggestion, perceiving that the log cabin idea would appeal more strongly to the masses than did the notion of the Van Buren gold spoons and gilded dinner service.

Accordingly, the Whig papers ran cuts of log cabins at the head of their editorial columns, and openly gloried in the plebeian tastes of their candidate.

In the Sangamo Journal of November 3, 1838, the editor, Simeon Francis, flung to the breezes of Sangamon County, the Harrison banner, in the following words:

"We, this week, raise the standard of William Henry Harrison as a candidate for President. This stand we have not taken without much reflection, but now that we have taken it, we shall not be induced to abandon it unless we conceive that the harmony of our friends absolutely requires it."

Mr. Francis, being a man who had no use for political fences as a roosting-place, and who was always to be found with both feet on the ground, either on one side or the other, was as good, or better, than his word; and in the stormy political weather that followed, his Sangamo Journal shone like a beacon light to the Whigs of Illinois, and his editorial utterances were delivered with no uncertain voice.

It was long before the lazy days of "patent insides" and news bureaus, but there abode in the struggling prairie town of Springfield, a firm of silversmiths and engravers, the De Riemers, who fashioned the solid cups and tankards and bowls put up as prizes for fat cattle and pigs and running nags at the first county fairs, and who prepared somewhat crude cuts for the infrequent illustrations that appeared in the newspapers of the county.

They engraved for the Sangamo Journal two styles of log cabins, the most popular one showing a canoe moored at one side of the building,

with a cannon standing at ease beneath a tree on the other; a hard cider barrel reclined on its side near the front door, whose latchstring dangled conspicuously outside. A flag with twelve stripes and fifteen stars floated from one end of the ridgepole, while a "stick and daub" chimney emitting a fat, solid-looking curl of smoke, peeped up at the other end. Below the cabin was the inscription:

"We thank the enemy for giving us the log cabin for our party emblem. It is a most fitting illustration of our principles. It carries the mind back to a period of republican simplicity when our rulers were faithful and honest. Fortunately, our country is not so old in years, nor our people so enervated by luxury as to forget their log cabin origin. We all know that patriotism resides among our yeomanry. The watchfires of liberty are guarded and fed by the dwellers in log cabins. We are proud, therefore, of the opportunity of supporting a log cabin candidate for President. We joyfully accept the log cabin as our coat of arms."

The other style of cut showed the log cabin from a different angle. Apparently the cider barrel had been shifted to the other end of the cabin, or, possibly, they had two barrels. In the foreground of this picture, was General Harrison in civilian garb, being interrupted in garden work by an old soldier, in full uniform, whom he was greeting with outstretched hands and an invitation to dinner, as the text beneath explained.

A lusty crop of campaign poets sprang up, and the newspapers of the day teemed with Tippecanoe, log cabin and hard cider doggerel, which could be sung to various popular tunes, "Old Rosin the Beau" being one of the favorites. This literary activity was not confined to the Whig party, as the "Loco-focos" or Van Burenites also burst into song as frequently and spontaneously as their opponents.

A "Rallying Song" of the Whigs appeared in the early part of the winter of 1839-40, which contained a number of stanzas, two of them being as follows:

"They're rousing, they're rousing in valley and glen—
The noble in soul and the fearless in heart;
At Freedom's stern call, to the combat again
They rush with a zeal she alone can impart.

From wild Madawaska's dark forests of pine
To the far, fertile glades where the Illinois flows,
True sons of their fathers, the people combine
To shake off the chains of their tyrants and foes."

On May 1 the Sangamo Journal printed:

"A LOCO-FOCO AND AN ECHO."

"A Loco-foco exclaimed, 'Who is Harrison—who?'
Echo responded: 'Tippecanoe!'

'Of his bravery and service, what proof now remains?'
Echo responded: 'The Thames, Thames, Thames!'

But, being still doubtful, more evidence begs;
Echo responded: 'Fort Meigs, Meigs, Meigs!'

'Oh, where shall I find my country's best friend?'
Echo replied: 'At North Bend, Bend, Bend!'

'Two years from now, I shall find him—where?'
Echo responded: 'In the Presidential chair.'"

It was seldom that the name of the author was appended to these literary efforts, but many of them were the productions of local bards.

Another popular song that went with a swing and also served to show the temper of the western people was the following:

"In the White House, Van Buren may drink his champagne
And have himself toasted from Georgia to Maine,
But we, in log cabins, with hearts warm and true,
Drink a gourd of hard cider to Old Tippecanoe."

A campaign paper called "The Old Soldier," was printed at the office of the Sangamo Journal, its publication being superintended by the members of the Whig State Central Committee, A. G. Henry, E. D. Baker, J. F. Speed, Abraham Lincoln, and R. F. Barrett. Later, on being elected Fund Commissioner, Dr. Barrett withdrew from the staff of The Old Soldier. A Democratic campaign paper, called "Old Hickory," was issued in Springfield, the editors being John Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas.

The focal point of the Whig campaign in Illinois was the "Old Soldiers' reading room," which was opened in the building occupied by the Sangamo Journal. The Tippecanoe singing clubs met there for practice; thunderous editorials, satirical campaign quips and stinging personalities manufactured there, were injected into the campaign with an abandon and disregard of consequences that would turn the editors of the present day green with envy. There the plans for the county campaigns were laid; there the "publicity committee" met nightly, and the most brilliant minds of the Whig party in Illinois, bent with enthusiasm to the task of organization.

Without going into the question of whether or not Martin Van Buren had sowed the wind, he certainly began reaping the whirlwind in 1839. Business definitely and decidedly collapsed. There was no money and little credit in the western country, and it did not soothe the pangs of the hungry and thirsty pioneers to read of "Matty" Van Buren rolling through the streets of Washington in his cushioned coach of state, or reclining luxuriously upon his imported, upholstered furniture. His gold teaspoons, duly exploited in the columns of the Whig papers, were a direct slap at the enforced simplicity of western table furnishings. All the effete luxuries which wrapped him so softly about, were, in fact, so many direct insults to the horny-handed toilers of the middle west. William Henry Harrison, who drank hard cider out of a gourd, was a man after their own hearts. The thing to do was to elect him.

A special session of the Legislature during the winter of 1839-40 brought to the State Capital, Springfield, in one way or another, the political leaders of both parties. Also, there were a number of bright

young lawyers assembled at Springfield to attend the court sessions, very few of whom were of the "say nothing but saw wood" variety. Thus it happened that the most brilliant orators of the State, all interested in politics and the sound of their own voices, met night after night in political debate in the Hall of Representatives. The new State House not being ready for occupancy at that time, the House met in the Second Presbyterian Church, a brick building on Fourth Street between Washington and Adams. It was at that time, the largest church building in the central and northern part of the State, but was torn down in 1875.

Many of the speeches delivered on the occasions of these debates were printed in pamphlet form, and sent out to do missionary work among the voters, thereby creating a state-wide interest in the campaign.

During this campaign the convention plan of nominating candidates became a political factor, and State conventions were held by both parties. At the Democratic convention of December 10, 1839, various resolutions were passed containing a scathing denunciation of Whig individuals, Whig policies and the Whig party in general. The Whigs were so much incensed by this direct attack that a meeting of the State leaders was called for December 11 at the Hall of Representatives, at which Cyrus Edwards of Madison County presided. J. J. Hardin of Morgan, chairman of the committee to draft resolutions, reported to the meeting that it was apparent to all earnest-thinking, fair-minded men that the time was approaching when a proper organization of the Whig party would be necessary to save the country; therefore, it was recommended that a convention of the Whig young men of Illinois be held in Springfield on Wednesday after the second Monday in June for the purpose of more effectually organizing the Whig party of the State. After able speeches by Messrs. Baker, Browning, Field and others, the resolutions were adopted.

Abraham Lincoln, of Sangamon, offered for adoption, a preamble and resolutions, calling a meeting the following night to debate with the opposition party the resolutions passed at the Van Buren State Convention on the 10th inst., denouncing the Whig party and policy.

The resolution being adopted, Mr. Lincoln was nominated to open the debate for the Whig side. The debate took place Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings, Mr. Lincoln leading in a speech of great force and wit. Mr. Douglas replied for the Democrats, and E. D. Baker wound up the debate for the Whigs. These political pyrotechnics at the State Capital attracted great attention, being exploited in the local papers and widely disseminated in the shape of pamphlets.

In his "Personal Recollections," John M. Palmer mentions visiting Springfield in December, 1839, to obtain a license to practice law. He said, "The city was filled with strangers, including most of the public men of the State." He attended a public meeting held in the Second Presbyterian meetinghouse, and heard speeches made by Alex P. Field, Secretary of State, John Calhoun, O. H. Browning and Stephen A. Douglas. He added, "Discussions of this character were kept up night after night."

A second meeting was held by the young Whigs at Springfield, January 31, 1840, at which a more formal organization of the Sangamon County Whigs was effected; and recommendations were made that the

Whigs in the various counties of the State hold meetings for the purpose of electing delegates, any number they might choose, to represent their respective counties at a great central meeting to be held in Springfield on Wednesday after the first Monday in June. The call for this meeting appeared regularly in each issue of the Sangamo Journal thereafter, and the newspaper correspondents throughout the State began to report their counties having taken favorable action in the matter. An address to the people of the State was prepared, and a confidential circular was sent out to some prominent Whig in each county, unfolding a plan of the State central committee for getting into touch with each county of the State. The counties were to be divided into small districts, each having a subcommittee whose duty it was to make out a list of the voters and their political preferences; to watch doubtful voters and supply first aid to wavering minds, and especially to report progress the first of each month.

About this time (the latter part of February), the old soldiers of the Northwestern Army under command of General Harrison during the late war with Great Britain, held a meeting in Springfield, at which John Lindsay presided; a suggestion made by a Jacksonville patriot in the last issue of the Old Soldier was adopted. This was to the effect that the old soldiers who had served under General Harrison in the late war should meet at some central point in convention on July 4. An address was prepared, signed by those present at the meeting:

"The Springfield old soldiers desire to second the convention suggestion most cordially, and invite the Sangamon County old soldiers who served under Harrison to meet March 14 at the courthouse."

The meeting took place on the above date, with Josiah B. Smith in the chair. Judge Logan was present, and, being invited to address the meeting, responded in a pertinent and happy manner. A resolution was offered by Dr. Todd, in which the old soldiers pledged themselves to use all honorable means to elect Harrison, and, further, that the old soldiers of the State, including all who had served their country in any war, be invited to meet in convention at Springfield June 4, the date of the Whig meeting. These resolutions were adopted and signed by those present. John O. Verstreet, a soldier of the time of Washington, attended this meeting. The Whig committee of correspondence, in accordance with a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Morgan County old soldiers April 11, forwarded an invitation to General Harrison to attend the meeting June 4, but he was unable to accept.

All this time the Whig young men were working like beavers, and, owing to their contests and conventions, Governor Ford said in his History of Illinois, that no standing army was better organized and disciplined than the Harrison forces in Illinois. State politics was pushed into the background for the time being. The Democrats began to show that they were puzzled. They tried argument, ridicule, and, finally, imitation, but too late; they were outsung, outshouted, outtalked, and outlaughed. The "Vannies" had talked of holding a State meeting in emulation of the Whigs, but fearing that they might not be successful in outdoing their political opponents, the Democratic State Central Committee, consisting of Stephen A. Douglas, I. R. Diller, V. Hickox, M. K. Anderson, and W. M. Walters, issued an address to the rank and

file of the party, through the columns of the Illinois State Register, which read as follows:

*"To the Democratic Party of Illinois:*

"We have received intelligence from our friends in various parts of the State, assuring us that at this busy season of the year, the Democratic farmers cannot, without great inconvenience, leave their farms for a period of time necessary to attend a convention at Springfield; a very few counties have already appointed their delegates and have shown a disposition to make every sacrifice for the interests of their party and their country.

"In view, however, of the times and the inconvenience to which the Democrats will be subjected at this busy season of the year, in leaving their work to attend a convention hundreds of miles from home, we beg leave to suggest to our friends in all parts of the State that it is inexpedient to hold a young men's convention in June next. The Democratic party is eminently a sober and reflective party. It believes not in pomp, parade nor show. It leaves such humbuggery to that party whose opinion of the public intelligence is so low as to lead them to act upon the unworthy principle that the people are to be led by show, and not moved by sober, honest appeals to their judgment. To that party we are willing to yield all the benefits of pomp and the exhibition of picturesque log cabins, canoes and old cider barrels; but for our own cause, we trust to the quiet but certain influence of truth and correct principles to again conduct us to victory."

In 1840 the Federal Census gave Sangamon County a population of 14,716, of which number, 2,579 resided in the town of Springfield that had been for three stormy years the Capital of the State, and was still a struggling village; altho it had been that year incorporated as a city, and an abortive attempt had been made to corral some of the live stock that perambulated its streets and wallowed blissfully in its gutters.

East and south of the little town, stretches of blue stem and rosin weed waved in the wind, where the prairie rolled to meet the sycamores of the Sangamon, and west and north hovered the tender, misty purple of forest trees. The old stage roads still threaded the prairie grass and wound in and out of the groves; but, as yet, no bands of steel linked the ambitious little State Capital with the outside world; and, even with the best will in the world, the fourteen thousand odd inhabitants of Sangamon County had made but scanty progress in mussing up the landscape with coal mines, factories and tin cans.

But that Sangamon County of 1840 possessed a stupendous amount of energy, enthusiasm and executive ability, is evidenced by the planning and successful accomplishment of the Whig young men's convention and old soldiers' meeting on June 3-4 of that year. It was a great undertaking for those days, when traveling was a very strenuous matter at best; and to carry out the plan of such a meeting successfully required an amount of faith and optimism from start to finish that only pioneer days seem able to supply. The results justified that faith more completely than faith is often rewarded. It was an outpouring of the people, the bone and sinew of the Prairie State; and, like soldiers marching to battle, they came to the music of fife and drum, with flags and banners,

tents and commissary, in lumbering wagons drawn by mules or horses, or plodding oxen, some of them eight and ten days on the way.

They journeyed through mud and shifting quicksands, fording creeks, ferrying across rivers, straining over bumpy hillocks by day and serenaded by prairie wolves as they gathered around their camp-fires at night. Among the pilgrims were between two and three hundred hoary-headed veterans of the Revolution and grizzled soldiers of 1812, all journeying for days to what proved to be a final rendezvous for some, and a last pleasant memory of reunion for others.

As the delegations neared Sangamon County, the enthusiasm of the people living along the various roads over which they traveled, became more manifest. Men were plowing their fields with Tippecanoe flags fluttering from their horses or oxen, or riding rampant upon the plows themselves. Many of the tavern-keepers refused to take payment for provender furnished, and patriotic old soldiers made the travelers free of gardens and smokehouses.

Women vied with men in the heartiness of their greetings. At Irish Grove, a woman stood in front of her log cabin, waving her shawl and shouting that all Irish Grove's forty families were Whigs but one.

The weather on Tuesday, June 2, was clear and brilliant, and the marshals, under direction of their chief, Dr. Merryman, were on parade, mounted and in uniform, at 2:00 p. m. The uniform was a dark coat, black hat, white pantaloons and white gloves. The assistant chief marshals, William Prentiss, F. Webster, W. G. Abrams, Albert T. Bledsoe and Z. P. Cabiniss, wore pink scarfs with white rosettes and carried white batons; the marshals, about 76 in number, wore blue scarfs with white rosettes, and carried white batons.

Following an announcement that the Chicago and other northern delegations were nearing the city, a detachment, accompanied by the Springfield band, was detailed to meet and escort them to the place of encampment, under a salute from the ubiquitous cannon that had ushered in so many National holidays and broken so many windows since they were first unlimbered by the Springfield artillery in 1835. The arrival of the Chicago delegation with its miniature brig from the lake, its streaming banners and quickstep music, to say nothing of the volcanic cheers that burst forth with such a hearty good will, formed a fitting prelude to the stirring events of the two or three gala days that followed.

The encampment was formed on the green north of Elijah Iles' residence, which stood at the corner of Sixth and Cook streets, now occupied by the First Christian Church, and soon the camp-ground became a mass of life and color. Immediately upon the arrival of a delegation, it was waited upon by marshals, with wagons and carts in their train, which supplied hay and corn for the horses and oxen and wood for the camp-fires. Tents sprang up like mushrooms after a spring shower, and the smoky incense of hundreds of camp-fires floated out upon the air. If the tents were too crowded for comfort, lodging was supplied the overflow in the private residences of the town.

More delegations were constantly arriving, and the gayly caparisoned marshals flew about like gorgeous leaves in an autumn gale. Some neighborhoods turned out with almost their entire population, bringing their minister with them; and, as the reveille sounded morning and

evening, they gathered for a short service of prayer. It is not meant by this to imply that all the delegations behaved like a Sunday school picnic; that would have been too much to expect of a political meeting.

Three-fifths of the delegates, according to a letter written upon the ground by one of them, were farmers, and he declared that it looked as if all the suckers in the State had come up stream and down stream to gather in the country of the Sangamo.

The spectacle in the evening was one to linger in the mind's eye for many years. A clear, silvery moon hung in the west, while in the north, above the purple line of forest, a black mass of high-piled clouds now and then spat out vicious tongues of lightning. Thousands were encamped upon the rolling prairie, their illumined tents glowing like radiant balls and their camp-fires flickering like fireflies. Bands of music played in different parts of the camp; glee clubs rolled out the doggerel of the Tippecanoe campaign, set to the music of popular songs; rockets shot up from the prairie here and there, and dripped flecks of fire from the dark blue vault above; ambitious orators tried their prentice hand upon good-natured audiences gathered in the open spaces, and mighty shouts of approval greeted each telling point in the discourse; and all these diverse elements mingled in a whirl of sound and motion that surged through the veins of the spectators like the spirit of the hard cider of which the glee clubs sang.

Wednesday morning, June 3, the sun rose clear, but clouds soon began to gather, and for a time it was feared that rain would fall, dampening the clothing, if not the ardor, of the thousands encamped upon the rolling prairie. However, Chief Marshal Merryman and his aides rendezvoused at 8:00 a. m. at the office of The Old Soldier, in readiness to receive the early delegations. The threatened storm passed over, and at a very early hour, the Morgan, Greene, Cass, Tazewell, the "Hunters of Macoupin," and other county delegations arrived, and were escorted into the city.

At 2:00 p. m. the formal meeting began in the pavilion that had been erected on the camp-ground, and which held about 5,000 people. As soon as the speakers were called to the stand, the pavilion was packed to suffocation, and thousands lingered around the outside. J. Hogan, of Madison, S. Lisle Smith, of Chicago, E. D. Baker, of Sangamon, and Richard Yates, of Morgan, delivered addresses, after the routine business of organizing and electing officers had been disposed of.

Mr. Hardin, of Morgan, chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the resolutions, which, among other things, expressed the object of the meeting as being an assertion of the inviolable rights of the free people; approved the nomination of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice President; condemned the lavish expenditure of public money as wholly unworthy of a Chief Magistrate; denounced a hard money currency as likely to impoverish the day laborer and enrich the officeholder; asserted that Van Buren had acted unwisely in creating a State debt in times of peace, and pointed out the inexpediency of maintaining a large standing army.

After the adoption of the resolutions, Messrs. Davenport, of Tazewell; Butler, of Bureau; Webster, of LaSalle; Wilkinson, of Morgan, and Judge Robins, of Kentucky, addressed the crowd. Speaking was con-

tinued at intervals during the evening by Messrs. Davis, of Alton; Vandeventer, of Schuyler County; Bond, of Clinton, and Doyle, of Peoria.

The camp of the Chicago delegation was considered the most attractive. On Wednesday evening, a party of ladies and gentlemen, composed of the elite of Springfield, paid a visit to the camp, accompanied by the Springfield band. Cotillion parties were formed on the prairie and continued until the moon went down.

The meeting of the old soldiers took place on Thursday, June 4. A State organization was effected, John F. Henry being elected president. Resolutions were passed, pledging those present to work and vote for the soldier candidate.

On motion, the Revolutionary soldiers attending the meeting were invited to the platform. Nine responded and were introduced to the audience. One of these veterans was nearly one hundred years old. Two others who were in town were unable to attend the meeting. One of the old soldiers, past eighty, wore a hunting shirt which he had worn at Fort Meigs; another brought a tomahawk that he had taken from an Indian near the battlefield of the Thames. One soldier proudly wore a sword that had been presented to him for gallant conduct during the time of General Wayne.

Thursday morning opened for the Whigs with a reception to the delegates by the Sangamon County delegation, after which, at 9:30, the different delegations assumed the positions assigned them at a signal of one gun. The Sangamon delegation formed on Sixth Street, also the old soldiers, their right resting on Edwards Street.

At 10:00 a. m., after a salute of twenty-six guns, the different detachments moved into column of march, and proceeded a mile and a quarter out onto the prairie south of town, then countermarched until the head of the column arrived again on Sixth Street just as the rear left it, making a procession two and one-half miles long, six abreast, in close marching order.

The order of the procession was as follows:

Salute party, with two field pieces.

E. H. Merryman, Chief Marshal.

Assistant Chief Marshals.

Music.

Committee on Arrangements.

State Central Committee.

Banner: State Coat of Arms; William Henry Harrison, on the reverse; "The Robe of the Civilian over the Armor of the Soldier."

A full length likeness of General Harrison, borne by two men. (This was painted by Major Cabiniss, a portrait painter of Springfield, who made a trip to General Harrison's home at North Bend for the purpose.)

Soldiers of the Revolution, in a long canoe, drawn by four gray horses.

Dr. John F. Henry, president of the old soldiers' organization.

Vice Presidents, consisting of soldiers of the Revolution, also those who served under Wayne, and with Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe.

Soldiers of the late war (1812), six abreast, with banner and National Flag.

Delegations from other states: Missouri, six abreast, with tri-colored flag and state coat of arms, with the motto, "Union for the sake of Union;" Indiana delegation with badges bearing the inscription, "The enemy is giving way; one more fire and victory is ours."

Iowa delegation, with banner inscribed: "Iowa cannot vote, but she can, and will, speak."

Carriages with ladies.

President of the Young Men's Convention, Hon. A. M. Jenkins.

Twenty-six young men selected from the various delegations, serving as vice presidents.

The county delegations, in six detachments, with bands, floats and banners. The first detachment was led by Assistant Chief Marshal Prentiss, and headed by the Cook County delegation; four bay horses drew a wagon containing the musicians, dressed as sailors, in white, with red sashes.

The second detachment was led by Z. P. Cabiniss, Morgan County heading the line, preceded by the Jacksonville band in a carriage drawn by six white horses. This delegation carried a banner inscribed: "Morgan County will attend to her crops, and her rights, too!" Next to Sangamon, it was the largest delegation in line, numbering about 1,100. Twenty old soldiers riding in a canoe drawn by six gray horses, attracted much attention. Among other banners carried by the hundreds of Morgan County farmers was one bearing the legend: "The farmer of North Bend—from the cabin to the Cabinet."

The third detachment was led by Thomas Hewitt, and headed by the Tazewell County delegation.

The fourth detachment, led by J. Shackelford, was headed by the Greene County men, decked with green bushes and carrying heads of green wheat. They bore a beautiful white silk flag presented by the ladies of Carrollton.

The fifth detachment was led by F. Webster and headed by the Scott County delegation.

The sixth detachment, acting as rear escort, led by J. Corneau, consisted of the Sangamon County delegation, carrying at its front a banner inscribed: "Old Sangamon—Harrison and Reform."

A large canoe, 33 feet long, containing two sailors in costume, followed, drawn by four horses. A pair of large deer horns was fastened to the bow. After this float came about 1,500 men carrying flags, banners and mottoes. Wolf Creek, Upper and Lower Lick Creek, Richland, Fancy Creek, Mechanicsburg and Island Grove were well represented. Rochester brought a steam engine drawn by horses and a canoe float; a little band of shoemakers carried a banner inscribed: "To accomplish our ends we will stake our awl." A log cabin followed, with a band playing inside, the float being drawn by ten yoke of oxen.

Cotton Hill came with a monster log cabin of cottonwood logs, in the most approved style of pioneer architecture, drawn by twenty-six yoke of oxen. In the rear of the cabin was a tree of sufficient size to support several men, while eighty men were gathered in, upon and around the cabin itself. The Sugar Creek delegation followed a banner inscribed: "Sugar Creek will do her duty."

Two hundred Irishmen selected from the Sangamon and Morgan county delegations, carrying green banners with green streamers, excited great enthusiasm.

The old soldiers were a remarkable feature of the procession. There were the eyes, now growing dim, that had beheld the redcoats fall at New Orleans; ears that had listened to the warwhoop of the Indian allies at Maumee, Fort Meigs and Tippecanoe; fingers that had pressed the triggers at the Thames, Monmouth and Stony Point; and feet, steady then, but all too faltering now, that had followed Washington over frost and snow and floating ice, to capture the Hessians at Trenton. Every battlefield from New Orleans back to the Revolution was represented.

The enthusiasm along the line of march was indescribable. The roar of fifteen thousand voices, the swaying banners, fluttering handkerchiefs of the spectators, the thud of hoofs, the music of the bands, the gayly uniformed marshals on their prancing horses, all aided in creating a scene that even the wildest imagination (probably the one owned by editor Francis) had surely never anticipated as likely to be staged in the little prairie town of Springfield. Moses, describing the event in his history, estimates the crowd at 20,000 people, although the State Register people could see but about 3,000, and the Sangamo Journal was satisfied with the claim of 12,000 in the line of march. The procession was two and one-half miles in length, embracing 1,463 sections of six individuals abreast, besides a long line of carriages, horsemen, men in canoes, log cabins and other floats.

Before countermarching on Sixth Street, the detachments passed in review before the Sangamon County delegation, drawn up in line to receive them. After the procession had passed, Sangamon County wheeled into line in the rear. The line of march continued on Sixth to Adams, Adams to Fifth, Fifth to Jefferson, Jefferson to Second, Second to Madison, Madison to Fifth, and thence to Houghan's Park, just south of the present Edwards Place, where the barbecue was in readiness. The park was reached about 1:00 p. m. and the tables were loaded with plain, substantial, log-cabin fare, to which a crowd of 15,000 people did ample justice. No wine or spirituous liquors were allowed at the barbecue. Awnings and seats had been prepared at the park for the ladies.

After the multitude had been fed, they collected in groups and were addressed by Mr. Hogan, of Alton, Mr. Brigham, of Massachusetts, Judge Todd, of Missouri, Mr. May, of Sangamon, Mr. Hardin, of Morgan, Mr. Morrison, of Kaskaskia, and Messrs. Webster, Hawley and Coffin, of LaSalle. The speaking was concluded at 6:00 o'clock p. m., and the people returned to town.

The home of Dr. Houghan (now known as Edwards Place) was thrown open to the ladies at the barbecue, and the space in front of his piazza was occupied by a large crowd, which was addressed by talented young citizens of the north and south parts of the State. Mrs. Smith, the mother of Dr. Todd, a lady nearing her eightieth birthday, was present, and was introduced to the people as the early friend and guardian of General William Henry Harrison. When she arose and stood before the crowd, every heart thrilled in unison with the pride she

felt in the honor paid to the child that had grown to manhood under her protection and guidance.

In the evening, the convention reassembled at the pavilion on the camp-ground, Hon. A. M. Jenkins presiding. Mr. Stuart, of Cook, Mr. Chambers, of St. Louis, Judge Huntington, of Indiana, Mr. Bond, of Clinton, and Mr. Hogan, of Madison County, delivered speeches of great power.

Mr. Hardin, of Morgan County, offered a set of resolutions, which were adopted with enthusiasm, thanking the citizens of Springfield and Sangamon County for their kind hospitality, and the ladies in particular, for the spirit and enthusiasm they had shown. Mr. Hogan, of Madison, offered a resolution, thanking Hon. A. M. Jenkins for the acceptable manner in which he had presided over the meetings, and after the adoption of this resolution, the convention adjourned sine die.

On the morning of June 5, after the tents of the Chicago delegation had been struck, it marched in procession with banners flying, to the music of the band, through the streets of the town to the office of the Sangamo Journal. Here, Mr. Stuart, of the Chicago American, made a happy address in behalf of the Cook County delegation, in which he presented to the Sangamon County Whigs the brig brought down from Chicago, as typical of the ship of state, which they were willing to intrust to the keeping of the latter.

After the applause had ceased, Mr. Baker, on behalf of the citizens of Sangamon County, presented to the Cook County delegation a large gray eagle, as typical of the young Republic. While Mr. Baker was describing the broad flight of the noble bird when he should be released from his cage by the election of General Harrison, the eagle, either in anticipation of that joyful event or because his bearer pulled his tail feathers, reared his head and gave a resounding squawk, that was followed by a burst of applause from the assembled crowd.

Many of the delegations spent the following Sunday in camp on their homeward way, while others did not start until Monday morning. Like many other political meetings, the greatest benefit to the party was not secured in the open and formal work of the convention, but rather in the secret conferences, the private exchange of ideas and information, and the personal acquaintance of leaders and lieutenants, which resulted from this assemblage of the brightest minds of the Whig party in Illinois. The firmer organization and closer relationship coveted by the leaders had been effected, and they separated with a firmer faith that victory would crown the efforts of the Whig party to seat their log cabin candidate in the presidential chair.

As for the local politicians, they felt assured that Sangamon County had set a high-water mark in the entertainment of crowds that would stand for many a year. In fact, it is very doubtful whether any town of 2,500 inhabitants ever carried a more stupendous undertaking to such a successful finish, and when Springfield is counting up her honors as a convention town, she should not forget to brush the dust of years from her well-earned, if slightly passé, laurels of 1840.

PART III

# Contributions to State History

1914

# FURTHER REGARDING THE DESTRUCTION OF A BRANCH OF THE FOX TRIBE OF INDIANS.

(By J. F. Steward.)

The writer of this article recently received a letter from the author of a work on western history who was invited to visit the hill of slaughter at the writer's expense, containing a declination to do so, stating that "The place has never been found;" hence the following: It is clear that negative statements cannot efface landmarks.

Francis Parkman, in his Half Century of Conflict, says: "The accounts of the affair are obscure and not very truthworthy." This statement will be found to be correct, only the landmarks can show where the event took place. Davidson, in Unnamed Wisconsin, says: "The worst event of the war occurred *near* Rock St. Louis on the Illinois River." He does not say *at,* but *near.* The place of my discoveries is, by the old trail, a day's run, about twelve French leagues away. Hebbard, in Wisconsin under the Dominion of the French, tells of the affair, but gives no place. DeLery, in his two sketches, dated October 15, 1730, states that the place is situated between the Illinois and the Wabash rivers, at 50 leagues to the east southeast of the Rock in New France. He does not distinguish between the Rock that gave our Illinois stream its second name in history and the Rock on the Illinois River.

Hoquart (Hocquart) in his letter to the French Minister, dated January 15, 1731, says:

"Monseigneur: I have no doubt * * * that you have learned, by way of the Mississippi, of the defeat of the Renards, savages (Foxes), that happened on September 9, the last, in a plain situated between the River Wabash and the river of the Illinois, about sixty leagues to the south of the extremity or foot of Lake Michigan; to the east southeast of the Rock in the Illinois country."

The region between the Illinois River and the Wabash was not known as the Illinois country. The Illinois were further west; some of them beyond the Mississippi. "In the Illinois country," is indefinite. This statement of Hoquart is referred to in a recent work, where it is said that the location of my discovery does not accord therewith. This is true, but, I reply that Hoquart was in Quebec and received his information second hand; such was also true of DeLery. The two localities pointed out by Hoquart are wide apart, and DeLery's places do not accord with those of Hoquart.[1]

Charlevoix passed down the Illinois River in 1721 to Fort St. Louis on what we know as "Starved Rock." The Peorias had clung to their old hunting grounds, about our river, although the other branches had moved to our side of the Mississippi, below St. Louis, taking the name

[1] DeLery's sketches, as procured from Paris for me, can be seen in the library of the Illinois Historical Society.

of their original town, Kaskaskia, with them. The French league was commonly stated to equal two and forty-two one-hundredths of an English mile. DeLery's place of slaughter, we find, would be one hundred and twenty-one miles from the "Rock" on the Illinois, near Delphi, Indiana, and Hoquart's sixty leagues would move the place beyond the Wabash, near Kokomo, Indiana. Hoquart's sixty leagues from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan would place the slaughter a few miles from Terre Haute, Indiana. Taking our large Government map as a guide, DeLery's position would be about six miles west of the Wabash, while Hoquart's first place would be about twenty-five miles beyond the Wabash, near Spencer, Indiana, which is about eighty-two miles from Terre Haute. We thus see that three places of the event are given. The military officers, no doubt, had maps of that day before them, but Hoquart and DeLery seemed to have ignored the work of cartographers. On Homan's map of 1684, our river is given as "Riviere des Illinois, R. de Macopin,"[2] including the Kankakee. Fox River of Illinois is shown, but not named. Following the authors mentioned, the place of slaughter would be beyond the Wabash, following the scale of leagues there shown. On an early French map, entitled, "Carte de la Nouvelle France," etc., not dated, but evidently drawn about 1710, Fort St. Louis is shown. Following the authors referred to, the place would be far beyond the Wabash.

On a map published in Amsterdam, "1710-1720," the place of the "Rock" is not shown, but its situation is apparent; following the two accounts the place was beyond the Wabash. On the map of Herman Moll, in the year 1720, the place would be between the Wabash and a branch of the St. Joseph River, called Oumanie.

Following Franquelin's map of 1688, the place would be near the Wabash. Following DeLisle's map of 1703, sixty leagues puts the place beyond the Wabash. This is also true of DeLisle's map of 1722. On this map is given a scale of English miles, and by it I find that the place would be far beyond the Wabash, and fifty leagues from the Rock on the Illinois would make it very near the Wabash. Fifty leagues from the Rock on the Fox River, of Illinois, will put the locality about one hundred and twenty-one miles east southeast between the Kankakee, on the early maps sometimes called the Illinois, and the Wabash. Hoquart's sixty leagues would place the locality a little further east. These confusions led me to my supposition that the Rock referred to was that on Fox River of Illinois and not that on the Illinois River. The Fox River of Illinois is first shown on an undated map (probably of 1679, as we are informed by Harrisse, the French authority on early French maps of America), and on Franquelin's map of 1684, where is the name Pestekuoy, the Algonquin name of the buffalo of our early prairies.

Our early map-makers often copied the errors of others; but, in time, cartographers became more correct in their work. It is thought that the information which enabled Popple in his map of 1732 to draw our stream more correctly than before Maramech was abandoned, was received from traders, as the position is properly shown, although there

[2] The river of our beautiful pond lilies.

Franquelin's Map, 1684.

called Maraux.[3] The region was on a well-known trail, mapped in by early map-makers. There are the hills, properly placed, particularly the isolated one, prominently shown.

On sixty-five early maps of my collection, the Mascoutins, sometimes given as Assistaeronnous or Nation de Feu, are shown as inhabiting the great prairies about the head of the Fox River of Illinois, and as far down as to reach Fox River, in Kendall County, Illinois, and they are shown nowhere else. Beckwith, who gave more attention to the history of Illinois than any other, quotes from an old record, as found in the article on "Mysterious Indian Battle Grounds in McLean County, Illinois," by John H. Burnham in the Transactions for 1908. He says: "Confirmatory of this is a reference in a letter written by M. de Longueil, the French commander at Detroit in 1752, where, referring to the difficulties the French were encountering with their Indian subjects between the Illinois and Wabash rivers, it is stated among other matters of grievance, the Piankeshaws, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the prairies of the Mascoutins,[4] the place where Messrs. de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years previous. And *when they had built a fort* to secure their families, they were to make a general attack on all the French. M. de Villiers and M. de Noyelle, as is well known, were officers at Fort Chartres.

Few will charge Beckwith with inattention to details. The prairies of the Mascoutins was undoubtedly correct.

It was the Mascoutins and Illinois of the Rock (Peorias) that held the Foxes, located between them, until the French arrived.

The trail known to early arrivals as the Sac and Fox trail crossed Fox River west of Chicago, probably where the early settlers passed over (including my parents, in 1838) at the shallow rapid, divided by the island near the northeast corner of Fox township, Kendall County, Illinois. The river shown on the French map of 1679 has a line crossing it marked "Saut," the French word for a rapid. The old trail is there still seen, winding up the hill. Later maps than that of Franquelin, and others, give the name as "Riviere du Rocher,"—River of the round-summited rock. The rock that gave the river its second name in history is about an acre in extent and more than forty feet in height. Whence the present name of the two creeks? Simply creeks of the Rock; their entrance into the River of the Rock (before being turned by the hand of man) was only a half French league from the Rock. River of the Rock, Big Creek of the Rock, Little Creek of the Rock, the names of the creeks remain and are commemorative of the older name of the River of the Rock. In the years of the century following the first discoveries, the French cartographers mapped in the river as "Riviere des Renards"—River of the Foxes. Why this change in name? The two previous names had been characteristic. River of the buffalo that roamed its adjacent prairies, and river of the mounds of hard Galena limestone, so hard as to resist the great glacial plowshare that had cut

[3] The French traders and explorers accustomed themselves to shorten the Indian names; for instance, Nadowessioux they shortened to Sioux; the Pottowatomies they shortened to Poux; Osaukees they called Sacs; Ouiatanons they and the English shortened to Wias. It seems probable that they shortened the people of Maramech to Maraux. (In English this would mean Mararose.)

[4] The prairies of the Mascoutins extend from the northern border of Illinois to far beyond Maramech hill, the place of slaughter of the Foxes. The Mascoutins were within the boundary of La Salle's colony. Opacole, a Mascoutin town of two hundred warriors, was not far from where Aurora now is.

away the softer overlying Ordovician strata—why do we now find two rivers that rise in the same state, of the same name? And why was its lower portion changed in name to River of the Foxes? The upper portion of our river, above Pestakee (Pistakee) Lake, as late as 1838, still retained the Algonquin name, River of the Buffalo. For some reason, plain to me, it was not considered inappropriate to give the lower portion a name commemorative of some important event—Riviere des Renards—River of the Foxes—Fox River.

The larger creek of the Rock, from which rises "the gentle slope" of the islet-like hill, a few miles to the north, is composed of two branches, one of which is laid down in Rand & McNally's map of Kane County, Illinois, as "Battle Creek." Thoro investigation was made by the surveyor (with whom I talked) as to the name of the branch when came the early settlers. Why did this name linger, only eight miles from the place of my discoveries? May not this be the remnant of a name once given to the creek referred to in the French accounts as a "Little River," as the head of the larger stream recently echoed the erstwhile name, the River of the Buffalo? Why, at first, called "Battle" Creek unless some military event took place along the stream?

The lower reach of the creek returned to its original French name, Grand crique du Rocher—hence our name, Big Rock Creek. Little Rock Creek, from early times, passed eastward along the southern bluff of the historic hill, and with a letter S joined its larger brother, both reaching the river that "leads to the Macopin" (the Illinois or Macopin of Franquelin's map and DeLery's sketch of 1730). From the confluence of the two creeks rises the island-like hill, of about thirty acres in extent; on other side is a gravel spit across the swamp, formed since the denudation of the hill of great trees that once formed two groves on its summit. On the southern crest of the hill, in early childhood, I sought the shade of these great trees, and caught the finny tribe at the foot of the bluff, before the hand of man had turned the course of the smaller stream. From the higher points of the eminence one can overlook the immense Mascoutin prairies, across the narrow wooded valleys and the timber lands that thinly skirted the bluffs.

When Maramech (the town of the Miamis of the Crane) was abandoned, we do not know. There Perrot was long in command, in the interest of New France. DeBacqueville de la Potherie, who received from Perrot much information regarding Maramech, tells us, in his early history of America, of events that there took place. Perrot was told by the Governor of New France to instruct the Miamis of Maramech to join the other branches of the tribe on the St. Joseph River; but when they abandoned their village on our larger stream, we have not yet been able to determine. In 1695, two runners came from the northwest and stated to the chief of the village that the Sioux were coming, and the chief ordered all out to build a fort. The town was at the foot of the hill, scattered along the River of the Rock. Upon the eastern crest of the hill, near by, a ditch, hip-deep at places, is still seen, and it is probable that the work of two days was there consumed; the rumor proved to be false, and the efforts were discontinued. That Maramech was, at first, a place of importance, is shown by the fact that many French articles are found in the graves near by.

The country, although early mapped in, soon became no man's land, attracting only fur hunters, in bands so large as to be safe when meeting bands of other tribes. The region was little known in 1730, on account of the rare visits at that time made, and the French found it not easy to get guides, hence they had difficulty in reaching the scene of the event.

The Rock, on the Illinois River, then was in a well-known region.[5] No guides were needed to find that place, as it had been known fifty-two years and was well mapped. The locality of which I write had then become obscure. Historians before me had not then found the place. The destruction of the branch of the Foxes is well told, in some respects, but confused as to location. It took place in Louisiana, as the region drained by the Mississippi was known. In his search for the band of Foxes, hemmed in by the allied tribes, and the Illinois from the new Kaskaskia and Cahokia (mostly Peorias), St. Ange at first traveled in a well-known country. The letter of May 16, 1731, tells that: "The Kickapoos, Mascoutins and Illinois of the Rock had taken possession of the *northeast quarter,* and it was probably that which constrained the Foxes to build a fort at the Rock, a league below them, in order to get under cover from their assaults." "We had news of the enemy on the 12th from one of our scouts, who informed us where their fort was, and that he had counted one hundred and eleven cabins."[6]

The two events, the attack made on the Foxes while on their way, and the siege, are badly mixed in the accounts.

Des Kaillons (Deschaillons), Commandant at Detroit, in his confusing letter to Beauharnais, dated August 22, writes that two Mascoutins had arrived from the St. Joseph River. They reported that the Renards were fighting with the Illinois, between the Rock and the Ouiatanon (a branch of the Miamis). When the Poux, Mascoutins and Quiquapoux (Kickapoos) learned of this, they marched thither; and while they advanced by slow stages because they had with them a wounded man whom they were obliged to carry, a couple of young men pushed ahead; but after marching a short distance, the two young men saw in a plain the Renards fighting against the Illinois; they at once came back to warn the main body of their troops, who fell upon the Renards. Consequently the Renards found themselves by this attack hemmed in by the Illinois on one side and on the other by the Poux, Quiquapoux and Mascoutins. But hardly had the last mentioned tribes attacked the Renards, trusting that the Illinois would keep them in check on the other side, when the Illinois took flight."

It is thus seen that the Foxes had an opportunity to escape, which they undoubtedly did, and fled. In DeVillier's letter to Beauharnais, date not given (page 113, Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII), he says: "They defeated the Renards and put them to flight; but the latter rallied and gained renewed vigor." Query: When and where did they rally? "During the night" (after the battle) "the Poutouatamis posted themselves on a hill in the prairie and dug holes in the earth by way of a fort. On their side, the Renards, with their families, took

[5] About a French league northeast of the place of the stockade is a perpetual pond of good water, in a deep depression; its banks are well shaded. It is possible that there the Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Illinois remained while holding the Foxes in check.

[6] The natives always took with them the materials for their cabins, the rush mats, and usually the poles.

possession of a small grove of trees and fortified themselves." . . . "I started from my post on the 10th of August." . . . "I found their village very small, although I do not refer to that in which they were shut up, but two of their camps which I saw in the prairies where they had lived during the summer." We thus see that the Foxes had been at another place. "The Renards' fort was in a small grove of trees, on the bank of a little river running through a vast prairie, more than four leagues in circumference, without a tree, except two groves about sixty arpents from one another."[7] . . . "I camped, with my savages, and the Frenchmen who had joined me, on the right of their fort" (right relative to the course of the little river), "where I erected two others, with a cavalier[8] in each to beat them back into their own and prevent them from descending into the ditches they had outside. I had a trench opened to approach them more closely, without risk to anybody, and had an attempt made to set fire to their fort. This trench made them uneasy, and caused them to move about more than usual. As soon as they saw that the earth was being excavated a shower from gunshots fell in good fashion."

In a digest of several letters (page 110, same volume) we read: "Meanwhile, the Illinois of the village of the Cakokias came, in the month of July, 1730, to tell us that the Renards had taken some of their people and had burned the son of their great chief near the Rock on the Illinois River." (Observe the word "near"; not *at* but near. The Rock on the Illinois River is but twelve French leagues from the Rock in the adjoining County.) "St. Ange placed himself at the head of the French, and on the 10th of August the latter joined the three or four hundred savages who had preceded them by a few days." St. Ange may have started between the first and sixth. "The Quikapoos, Mascoutins and Illinois of the Rock had made themselves masters of the passes on the northeast side, and this probably compelled the Renards to build a fort at the Rock, a league below them (that is, down the river), to protect themselves against their attacks." St. Ange traveled along the wooded banks of the Illinois and Fox rivers. Referring to the fort, the account says: "This was a small grove of trees surrounded by a palisade situated on a gentle slope rising to the west and northwest from a little river, so that on the east and southeast sides they were exposed to our fire. Our men were posted, by order of Monsieur de St. Ange, so as to blockade the Renards, who made two unsuccessful sorties that day. Trenches were dug the following night and every man worked to fortify himself in the post assigned to him." On the night of the 8th of September the Foxes escaped. "Our savages, who were fresher and more vigorous, soon overtook them."

The foregoing extracts are the essential points of the affair, and I close the selection by quoting from Hoquart's letter dated November 14, 1730: "Monsieur Chaussegros de Lery has drawn up a plan of the same with a note accompanying it, which is addressed to you . . . by Monsieur de Beauharnais."

[7] At the northeast of the hill of my discovery was a grove, and at the south end, where was the stockade, another. These groves now cut away, all but the second growths, were about one hundred and sixty rods apart.

[8] A little fort to protect our advance.

(The above quoted statements are scattered through many letters, mainly found in Vol. XVII of the Wisconsin Historical Collections.)

The trenches at the north end of the hill are irregular and duplicated, which is accounted for by the haste in which they were made. The ditch of approach intended to reach the stockade to set fire to it follows the brow of the hill, diagonally relative to the stockade and is three hundred and forty-six feet in length; its ends still visible, altho an early plowman obliterated a large portion of its length.

We find that DeVilliers was approximately ten days in reaching the locality of the event, which was a ridiculously long time to pass from the St. Joseph River to any place pointed out by DeLery and Hoquart, unless the event took place near Terre Haute, which is not probable. DeVilliers was commander in chief, and we may well think he made haste; but the distance must have been much greater than stated in the digests of the letters. From the Rock on the Fox River, in Illinois, to the nearest point on the St. Joseph River, is about 180 miles. Eighteen miles, dragging two cannon, over swamps, was a fair day's march.

DeLery's sketches (obtained for me by the Map Department of the Congressional Library), as stated, are dated October 15, and there seems to be little agreement between them and the military accounts. He shows no bunch of woods, no islet, no slope rising gently to the west and northwest from a little river, but abrupt bluffs rising northward. He does not show the position of DeVilliers' little forts; does not show St. Ange's correct position. He does show, however, the smaller creek from which the bluff abruptly rises, flowing eastwardly, but no covered way leading to the little stream, so plainly seen before the denudation of the hill, which permitted the heavy rainfalls to cut a wide gully that laid bare a French axe that, no doubt, was used in building the stockade. His underground cells and passageways, so well shown, were undoubtedly drawn from his own imagination, as constructions of the kind were unknown to our natives. Dr. William Jones[9] once passed over the ground with me and agreed with me that the place had, at last, been found.

Pokagon, an educated Indian, and the last chief of the Pottowatomies, to whom I sent some of my writings, wrote: "So it appears to me, by your close observation, you have established the site of the ancient village and the fort correctly."

What support does Hoquart get from the military reports? None.

What support do I get from those sources? The following:

Why was the name of the river changed to Riviere des Renards? As we say, Fox River? *"Near* the Rock on the Illinois River?" The place of my discovery is but thirty miles away. The little river? The gentle slope rising from the little river? The amphitheater-like gentle slope of the hill, rising both to the west and northwest from the little river? The two bunches of great trees were there until 1869, when the axeman denuded the hill. The islet still remains.[10] The swamp and the creeks still hem in the "islet." The half-circle ditch of the stockade

[9] Dr. Jones was a quarter-blood Fox, a graduate of Harvard College, and he also received a degree from Columbia College. He was killed in the Philippine Islands while making ethnological researches for the Field Museum.

[10] The French termed any rise from a valley or low country an islet, or island; for instance, Stony Island and Blue Island, in Cook County, Illinois.

completing with the steep brows of the hill west and south, made the place a strategic point, which would not be true of a bunch of woods in an open prairie. The ditch of the defense is still plainly marked. The ditch to the water of the smaller creek was still plain at the time of my discovery, before the denuded hill had allowed the heavy rainfalls to cut the approach to water away. A French axe that helped to make the stockade was found in the gravel where the rush of heavy rainfalls, after the denudation, had laid it bare. And a gunflint was found nearby. In the waterway a stone axe was also laid bare. The "Rock," nearly a French league below, its foot bathed by the water's flow, altho silent, stands as proof. Two rifle pits are seen at the southern brow of the hill. The irregular trenches, first made by the French and allies, at the north, still scar the sod. The unfinished ditch of approach, striking diagonally southwest, is still plain, altho partly obliterated by an early plow, after one hundred and eighty-four years. The close position of DeVilliers' little fort on the bluff at the right, across the swamp (relative to the flow of the little and the larger river), a musket-shot away is another proof. To the north of Maramech hill, a rifle-shot away, is a continuation of the hill to the west, and it is quite possible that DeVilliers' second little fort was there placed. A flintlock horse-pistol barrel was recently there found.

The place on the northern spur of a southern bluff, across the eastwardly running smaller creek, then at the foot of the hill, two pistol-shots away, opposite the waterway, is evidently where St. Ange made his little ineffective fort to cut off the water supply. The covered country referred to, and followed by St. Ange, borders the larger river. From the southeast the hill and the slope are plainly seen, as stated in the accounts. The country is mainly a vast prairie, especially the route taken by DeVilliers, nearly all the way from St. Joseph River. The last stand, a mile away, seems to be marked by vast numbers of arrow heads. The trenches first made are irregular, as one gathers from accounts. They are a short musket-shot from the stockade. They are on the brow of the hill, at the north, as near as safe to approach the stockade, where few trees now obstruct the view, and probably none did in 1730; the second growths all sprang up since the coming of the whites. The custom of our natives to burn off the prairies and leaves of the woodland was destructive to tender growths, hence the open woods at the time of the coming of the whites.

Let those who doubt stand by the great boulder I have placed, and with a military eye judge where the open attack must have first been made, then go in that direction and find the scars of the trenches in the virgin sod. Pass to the southern foot of the hill and follow the old bed of the smaller creek, thru its S, where oft, in youth, I fished, eastward to the "little river," and there notice the gentle slope. Stand at the highest parts of the hill, that of the south and that of the northeast, and judge if the approach of an army could not be discovered. Stand at the point of the hill, opposite the gully, where the ditch approached the water, and say if that place is more than two pistol-shots away from the northern spur of the approaching hill at the south. Go to the rocks and judge whether they are not near a short French league away. Pass to the west, now dry sod, across the swamp to the brow of

the hill and judge whether or not there, at the right, was the position of DeVilliers' little forts to protect those in the advance to attack the stockade. Stand at the eastern bank of Big Rock Creek, the little river, and look up the gentle slope. Notice whether or not the slope is to the west and northwest from that little river.

# BRIEF HISTORY OF THE 17TH REGIMENT ILLINOIS VOLUNTEER INFANTRY—1861-1864.

(Compiled by Robert W. Campbell, Peoria.)

Ten companies went into camp at Peoria, Illinois, May 10, 1861: Co. "A," Capt. A. S. Norton; Co. "B," Baldwin; Co. "C," Rose; Co. "D," Bush; Co. "E," Smith; Co. "F," Moore; Co. "G," Burgess; Co. "H," Ross; Co. "I," Wood; Co. "K," Walker.

May 20, the 17th Regiment was organized by electing Capt. Ross, Co. "H," Colonel; Capt. Wood, Co. "I," Lieutenant Colonel; Capt. Smith, Co. "E," Major. Lieut. A. H. Ryan, Co. "A," was appointed Adjutant; Lieut. C. C. Williams, Co. "F," Quartermaster; Dr. Lucius D. Kellogg, Regimental Surgeon; Dr. C. B. Tompkins, Assistant Surgeon.

After spending about one month at Peoria, engaged in drilling and making preparation for service, we were moved by steamboats to Alton, Illinois, where we went into camp and spent another month in drilling. About the middle of July we were transported by steamers to St. Charles, Missouri, thence by railroad to Warrenton, where we spent a week. The regiment was then ordered to St. Louis, where it became a part of the command of Gen. Fremont; and accompanied him August 1 on his expedition to Cairo via steamers. August 3 it went into camp at Bird's Point, Missouri, and was engaged for about two weeks in building fortifications; was then ordered up the Mississippi to a landing about thirty miles below St. Louis, known as "Sulphur Springs"; thence by railroad to Ironton, Missouri, where the regiment was encamped for a short time. While here the officers of the regiment, about August 20, had the pleasure of meeting for the first time Brig. Gen. U. S. Grant, who had recently received his commission as brigadier general.

From Ironton the regiment was ordered to move to Fredericktown, Missouri, and garrison the place, where it remained about a week; when, being attached to the command of Gen. Prentiss, moved under that officer to Jackson; thence to Cape Girardeau, reaching the latter place September 2, 1861. About September 10 the regiment was removed to the Kentucky shore opposite Cairo and aided in constructing Fort Holt. By this time Gen. Grant had established his headquarters at Cairo. From him came orders to Col. Ross to take his regiment, the 17th, the 19th, Col. Turchin, and the 7th Iowa, Col. Lawman, and a section of artillery and occupy Elliott's Mills, a place about half way between Fort Holt and Columbus, Kentucky. This place, about twelve miles from Columbus, was named Camp Crittenden, and was held only four days when the brigade was ordered to fall back to old Fort Jefferson, and soon after to Fort Holt, where work was resumed on the fortifications. This proved a very unhealthy location, and a large portion of

the regiment was very soon in the hospital. As a sanitary means, the regiment was moved from Fort Holt, Kentucky, by steamer to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, a higher and more healthy location. This change was made October 3, 1861; disembarked October 4; went into camp, and those who were able went to work on the forts being constructed at that place.

On the 18th of October, the 17th Regiment composed a part of the forces of Col. Plummer, with which he moved to Fredericktown, where on the 21st of October, Gen. M. Jeff. Thompson was met and defeated. As the 17th Regiment had the advance in this engagement, bore the brunt of the battle and had the enemy about conquered before any other infantry reached the field of battle, it is usually referred to as the "fight of the 17th Boys." Loss: killed, 1; wounded, 20, 1 mortally—Lieut. J. Q. A. Jones, of Co. "C," who died three days after the battle.

In this, the first engagement of the 17th Regiment, Thomas Layton was killed, who, so far as the writer is informed, was the first Illinois soldier killed in battle in the War of the Rebellion. The battle of Fredericktown was but a skirmish compared with those which soon followed. But it was a decided victory for the Union forces, which at that date were not frequent in the west. It gave the members of the regiment confidence in themselves as soldiers, and proved of great advantage in their future operations.

October 23, the regiment started on the return march to Cape Girardeau, where it arrived October 25; November 5 moved out and made demonstration on Bloomfield, and went into camp at "Round Ponds." The next day was moved back to camp. It was afterwards learned that this demonstration was made in order to prevent reinforcements being sent to oppose General Grant while he fought the battle of Belmont. November 29, 1861, Col. Ross of the 17th was assigned to the command of the post of Cape Girardeau. On the 30th of November, sent Lieut. Col. Wood on expedition to Benton with 150 men to chastise guerrillas and protect Union families. December, 1861, was spent in drilling, in holding weekly officers' meetings and discussing various subjects on the efficiency of our soldiers, giving instructions in regard to guard and picket duty, enjoining temperance, pointing out the great danger of intemperance and excess with soldiers, etc. December 14, on invitation of Gen. Grant, embarked on steamer Illinois with Companies "A" and "B" for Cairo, to attend a review of the troops at that place. December 16 attended review and inspection at Bird's Point, Missouri, and Fort Holt, Kentucky. On December 18 there was review and inspection of the troops at Cape Girardeau by Generals Sweeney, Sturgis and Van Rensselaer. The month of January, 1862, the regiment encamped still at Cape Girardeau, was engaged in drilling, strengthening the defenses of the place and making preparation for more active service. Several expeditions were sent out from the Cape into the interior in pursuit of bands of Gen. Thompson's forces. January 15, three expeditions were sent out, one to Benton in command of Major Smith, one to Bloomfield under Capt. Murdock and the third to Dallas in command of Maj. Rawalt. January 25, Col. Wood and Maj. Smith went again on expedition, the first with 200 infantry, the latter with

200 cavalry, to go to Benton and below to capture guerrillas who had been firing on passing steamers.

February 8, 1862, the 17th Regiment was ordered to break camp and proceed by boat to Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. Arrived there and disembarked, went into camp; on the 11th received orders to take two days' rations and leave all tents and camp equipage in charge of a camp guard, and report to Gen. John A. McClernand, commanding the right division of the advance on Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River.

On the 12th, arrived within view of the outer defenses of Donelson. Col. Ross and Lieut. Col. Wood being absent, Maj. F. M. Smith was in command of the regiment. The brigade, consisting of the 17th, 48th and 49th Illinois Regiments, Infantry, and Capt. McCallister's Battery, was commanded by Col. William Morrison of the 49th Regiment.

On the 13th, Gen. McClernand ordered the brigade to make an assault on the enemy's works, with a view of capturing a battery which had been annoying our troops very much. After charging up to within a few yards of the works, it was found impossible to get inside; the order was given by Gen. Grant to withdraw, which was done in good order under a severe fire of shot and shell from the battery. Col. Morrison was severely wounded while on his horse leading the charge; loss of the 17th regiment was quite severe. February 14 the 17th regiment was under fire all day; during the afternoon it rained and by night turned quite cold, and by morning of the 15th there was two inches of snow on the ground, much to the discomfort of the troops. While in line waiting for orders, the regiment was a target for the gunners in the fort, who got such good range that the second shell killed four men in the four right companies and wounded two others.

Company "A" and "B" were sent on the skirmish line, and the regiment was moved to the left, without ordering in the skirmishers; they were cut off by some rebel cavalry and several captured. The enemy attempted to cut their way out and were successful in driving the right of our line back, but with reinforcements the lost ground was all retaken.

Col. Ross returned and was assigned to command of the brigade and directed to report to Gen. Lew Wallace at the front. After so reporting, the 17th and balance of the brigade supported Gen. Wallace under severe fire and protected his left flank while the last fight was made on Saturday night prior to the surrender.

Sunday, February 16, the 17th regiment was in line ready for the general assault, which was to be made all along the line, when, to the joy of all, a messenger came galloping up with the information that the enemy had surrendered to General Grant. The regiment was soon inside the works. The loss of the regiment was: killed, 14; wounded, 58; captured, 7; total, 79.

From date of surrender on the 16th of February to 4th of March, remained in camp at Fort Donelson. In the meantime was brigaded with the 43d, 29th and 49th Illinois Infantry and McCallister's and Schwartz's Battery, Col. Ross commanded. March 4th, started to march to Mineral Landing on the Tennessee River; March 6th, embarked on the steamer Minnehaha and arrived at Savannah, Tennessee, March

14th. On the 18th moved out on an expedition to Pinhook, twenty-five miles southeast of Savannah to destroy flour being ground for rebels at mill five miles from town; destroyed considerable flour and then distributed 150 sacks among the poor of that vicinity. Then returned to Savannah where arrived at 10:00 a. m. on the 20th of March, and there received orders to move further south at 9:00 o'clock a. m. on the 21st. High winds delayed the embarkation till night, when the entire brigade was on board of four steamers which landed at Pittsburg Landing and went into camp about two miles from landing on the morning of the 22d of March, 1862. The 17th regiment was assigned to the First Division, commanded by General John A. McClernand, and was brigaded with the 29th, 43d and 61st Illinois regiments. Col. Ross being unavoidably absent, the brigade was commanded by Col. Raith of the 43d Illinois. On Sunday morning, April 6, the battle of Shiloh opened; the 17th regiment was ordered to support Taylor's Battery, located near Shiloh Church, on the left of General Sherman's Division. All day long the battle raged; the regiment with others was driven back step by step until 4:00 p. m., when General Grant succeeded in getting his lines more compact and checking the advance.

On Monday morning, the 7th, a general advance was ordered and the fight opened early, fierce and furious; the enemy was gradually driven back and by nightfall the 17th regiment had regained possession of their camp which had been abandoned Sunday morning. The loss of the regiment in the two days was: killed, 16; wounded, 114.

The regiment remained near Pittsburg Landing till April 25, when it moved five miles south to Camp Stanton; then on the 28th to Camp Tecumseh, four miles further on the road to Corinth. May 5, encamped near Monterey. The regiment was now in the memorable advance on Corinth, where General Halleck was in command, which continued to May 31, when it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated the place and the Union forces moved in and took possession.

Among the changes in field officers up to this time were the following:

Col. Leonard F. Ross promoted to Brigadier General, April 25, 1862.

Capt. Addison S. Norton, Co. "A," promoted Colonel.

Lieut. Col. Enos P. Wood, resigned, April 19, 1862.

Maj. Francis M. Smith promoted Lieutenant Colonel.

Capt. Frank F. Peats, Co. "B," promoted Major, April 23, 1862.

After several moves, the regiment was stationed at Jackson, Tennessee, where, July 10, 1862, it was brigaded with the 43d, 48th, 49th and 61st Illinois Infantry and 12th Michigan. July 18, 1862, regiment with entire brigade removed to Bolivar, Tennessee, where Gen. Ross was in command of the post and all the forces stationed there. Here was a long line of railroad to guard; scouting parties were sent out almost daily to keep advised of the movements of the enemy. This was continued until in November, 1862, the regiment was moved to LaGrange, Tennessee; thence to Daviss Mills, Holly Springs, Abbyville and Oxford, Mississippi. The 17th was distributed along the railroad guarding the bridges.

December 20, Gen. Van Dorn captured Holly Springs and destroyed the large accumulation of munitions of war, food and forage, thus

cutting off communication with the north. The campaign was abandoned, the troops returning to Holly Springs and LaGrange. The 17th regiment assembled at Abbyville December 26, and arrived at Holly Springs next day and was transferred from Gen. Logan's to Gen. John McArthur's Division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, commanded by Gen. James B. McPherson.

Left Holly Springs on the 29th to Moscow and went into camp at Collierville, Tennessee, January 2. January 12, marched to Memphis and encamped in the navy yard, guarding Government property and doing provost duty until January 18, embarked on steamer for the Vicksburg campaign.

January 25, arrived at Youngs Point, Louisiana. February 1, embarked on steamer for Lake Providence, Louisiana, where went into camp, remaining there until April 30. During the time while at Lake Providence, the regiment went on frequent expeditions up the river and out through the country for forage and were engaged in several skirmishes.

While the regiment was encamped at Lake Providence, Adjutant General Lorenzo D. Thomas came down the river for the purpose of organizing colored regiments and several members of the 17th Illinois Infantry were selected as officers for the two regiments being formed at this time. Sergt. Maj. Frank Bishop, Color Sergt. Robert M. Campbell, Corporal William M. Voris were commissioned as officers in the 47th United States Colored Infantry and W. T. Sullivan and C. R. Berry were commissioned as officers in the 48th United States Colored Infantry.

Just prior to leaving Lake Providence, an order had been issued transferring the regiment from Gen. McArthur's Division to Gen. Logan's Division, and in order to gain time, before the order had been promulgated, the 17th Illinois Infantry was sent up the river near Greenville, Mississippi, to drive some guerrillas away who were annoying passing boats at that point; we were gone several days, but on our return to Lake Providence, found an order for the regiment to join Gen. Logan's Division at once, this Division having left a few days before, so on April 30 we embarked on boat for Milliken's Bend and disembarked the same evening, and on May 1 took up our line of march for Grand Gulf by way of Perkin's Plantation and Hard Times Landing. Arrived at Hard Times Landing May 4 and the same evening the regiment was ferried across the river to Grand Gulf, Mississippi. On landing, Col. Green B. Raum, of the 56th Illinois Infantry commanding post, delayed us here until May 14 for the purpose of assisting in unloading and forwarding ammunition and supplies for the army in front; on this date, the regiment again started on its march to join the 3d Division, 17th Army Corps. The regiment came up to the Division during the battle of Black River Bridge on May 17. On the 18th we crossed Black River and were ordered to report to Gen. Smith, commanding 1st Brigade, 3d Division, 17th A. C.; reported about 10:00 o'clock that night to Gen. Smith, who informed Maj. F. F. Peats, commanding regiment, that he had more troops than he could use on his part of the line, that they were three lines deep at that time. On 19th, reported to Gen. John A. Logan in person, and explained situation of the regiment; Gen. Logan ordered

the regiment to the left of his Division, saying at the same time he would place the regiment in person, and that it would be the post of honor, being the nearest troops to the enemy's works. Our position was close up to Fort Hill on the Jackson Road and some distance in front of our batteries which threw shot and shell over our heads into the rebel works. The regiment held this position for some time after the charge on the enemy's works on the 22d of May, but owing to an accident caused by a defective shell bursting that was being fired over us from Capt. Bolton's Battery, Chicago Light Artillery, and severely wounding one member of the regiment, we were ordered to the rear of the battery.

In the charge on the enemy's works on the 22d of May, the 17th Illinois Infantry was selected by Gen. Logan as skirmishers for the 3d Division, driving in the enemy's outposts at an early hour and holding an advanced position until the storming column was formed, and when repulsed, falling back and maintaining the same line as originally formed before the assault; this line was held by the regiment until relieved by other troops about 3:00 p. m. After the failure of this assault, the regiment was continually under fire until the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4. When Gen. Logan was ordered to occupy and take possession of the city with one brigade of his Division (1st Brigade, 3d Division, 17th A. C.), he took with him the 17th Illinois Infantry (3d Brigade, 3d Division, 17th A. C.) as an appreciation of services during siege. Loss during the siege of Vicksburg, 9 killed and 34 wounded. During the siege, the 17th Illinois Infantry was attached to 3d Brigade, 3d Division, 17th A. C. The 3d Brigade was commanded by Gen. John D. Stevenson, a good, brave and efficient officer, ably assisted by Capt. Frank Whitehead, his A. A. A. General. After the capture of Vicksburg, the regiment did provost duty and was on several scouting expeditions, both in Mississippi and Louisiana, until February 3, 1864, when the regiment started with Gen. Sherman on his Meridian expedition. At and near Clinton, Mississippi, the 17th regiment being in the advance, had quite a little skirmish with the enemy, which earlier in the war might be termed quite a severe engagement, but here General Hurlbut's Corps took the advance and kept it until we occupied Meridian, Mississippi. Here the regiment rested for a few days and then began the return to Vicksburg. While at Meridian, the regiment had some prisoners captured while on a foraging expedition, the only ones captured from the regiment when on duty during their terms of service—seven in all as reported.

After returning to Vicksburg, March 1, the regiment was scouting and doing garrison duty until May 20, when the regiment was ordered to Springfield, Illinois, to be mustered out of service.

At this time a number of the 17th who had enlisted as veterans were left at Vicksburg and afterwards consolidated with the 8th Illinois Infantry Volunteers.

## LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE 17TH REGIMENT MUSTERED OUT WITH THE REGIMENT JUNE, 1864.

### Field and Staff.

Francis M. Smith, Lieutenant Colonel.
Frank F. Peats, Major.

William S. Reynolds, Adjutant.
Charles B. Tompkins, Surgeon.
Wilbur P. Buck, Assistant Surgeon.
Rev. S. A. Kingsbury, Chaplain.
Henry S. Smith, Quartermaster.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

William H. Struthers, Sergeant Major.
William H. Schell, Quartermaster Sergeant.
George B. Millard, Commissary Sergeant.
John R. McDowell, Hospital Steward.
John W. Wonder, Addison Fillmore } Musicians.

Co. "A."

Gawn Wilkins, 2d Lieut.

Co. "B."

John A. Collier, 1st Lieut.
Thomas McFarland, 2d Lieut.

Co. "C."

Chauncey Black, Captain.
James B. Rowley, 1st Lieut.
Cyrus Allen, 2d Lieut.

Co. "D."

Henry H. Bush, Captain.
Edward C. Robbins, 1st Lieut.
Henry K. Stewart, 2d Lieut.

Co. "E."

William J. Merrill, Captain.
David Clough, 1st Lieut.
John H. Wells, 2d Lieut.

Co. "F."

Josiah Moore, Captain.
Charles C. Williams, 1st Lieut.

Co. "G."

Jonathan H. Rowell, Captain.
Henry D. Clark, 1st Lieut.

Co. "H."

William W. Hull, Captain.
William C. Stockdale, 1st Lieut.
William E. Yarnell, 2d Lieut.

Co. "I."

William A. Lorimer, Captain.
Theodore Glancy, 1st Lieut.

Co. "K."

Jacob Wheeler, Captain.
James H. Mitchell, 1st Lieut.
George R. Buck, 2d Lieut.

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